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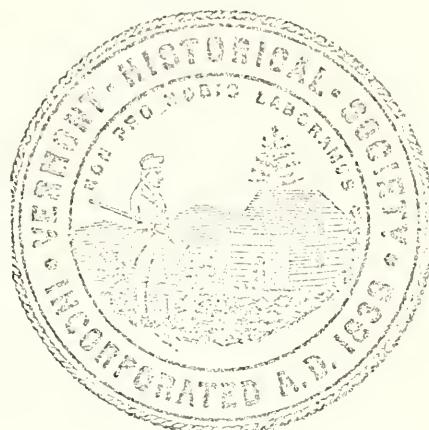
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Vermont Historical Society,

OCTOBER 20 AND NOVEMBER 5, 1896.



Address: THE BATTLE OF BENNINGTON,

HENRY D. HALL, Esq.

Address: Vermont as a Leader in Educational Progress,

REV. A. D. BARBER.

Presentation: Portrait of the Hon. E. P. Walton,

PRESIDENT 1876-1890.

MDCCCCXCVI:
Argus and Patriot Press,
Montpelier.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

General Assembly of the State of Vermont:
JOINT RESOLUTION.

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives: That the Clerk of the House of Representatives* be directed to procure the printing of twelve hundred and fifty copies of the Proceedings of the Annual Meetings of the Vermont Historical Society, October 20th, 1896, and of the adjourned Annual Meeting of said Society, November 5th, 1896, and of the papers of HENRY D. HALL, Esq., and the REV. A. D. BARBER, read before said Society, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on the evening of said day, to be disposed of as follows: To each member of the Senate and House of Representatives, one copy; to each Town and City Clerk, one copy; to each College, Normal School, Academy, and Public Library, one copy; to the Governor, each of the heads of Departments, and each Judge of the Supreme Court, one copy; to the VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY, four hundred copies, and the remainder to the State Library, subject to the control of the Trustees thereof.

WILLIAM A. LORD,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

NELSON W. FISK,

President of the Senate.

Approved November 19, 1896.

JOSIAH GROUT,

Governor.

* Clerk, Fred A. Howland, of Montpelier.

The Vermont Historical Society.

PRESIDENT.

GEORGE G. BENEDICT, Burlington, Vt.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

REV. W. S. HAZEN, Northfield, Vt.

R. M. COLBURN, Springfield, Vt.

JAMES C. HOUGHTON, Montpelier, Vt.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

JOS. A. DE BOER, Montpelier, Vt.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES.

T. S. PECK, Burlington, Vt.

CHAS. S. FORBES, St. Albans, Vt.

TREASURER.

GEORGE W. SCOTT, Montpelier, Vt.

LIBRARIAN.

TRUMAN C. PHINNEY, State House, Montpelier, Vt.

CURATORS.

HENRY D. HALL, Bennington County.

REV. HENRY FAIRBANKS, Caledonia County.

REV. A. D. BARBER, Chittenden County.

GEORGE N. DALE, Essex County.

EDWARD CONANT, Orange County.

F. W. BALDWIN, Orleans County.

HIRAM CARLETON, Washington County.

CHAUNCEY W. BROWNELL, Secretary of State, }

FRANKLIN D. HALE, State Auditor,

HIRAM A. HUSE, State Librarian,

} *Ex-officio.*

RESIDENT AND ACTIVE MEMBERS.

Martin, James L	Brattleboro, Vt.
McCullough, J. G.....	Bennington, Vt.
Morris, Ephraim.....	Hartford, Vt.
Munson, Loveland.....	Manchester, Vt.
Page, Carroll S.....	Hyde Park, Vt.
Peck, Theodore Safford.....	Burlington, Vt.
Phinney, Truman Curtis.....	Montpelier, Vt.
Platt, Frederick S.....	Poultney, Vt.
Poland, Joseph.....	Montpelier, Vt.
Prouty, Charles A.....	Newport, Vt.
Rowell, John W.....	Randolph, Vt.
Scott, George Washington.....	Montpelier, Vt.
Sinilie, Melville Earl.....	Montpelier, Vt.
Smith, Charles Albert.....	Barre, Vt.
Smith, Fred Elijah.....	Montpelier, Vt.
Staford, Wendell Phillips.....	St. Johnsbury, Vt.
Stickney, William B. C.	Bethel, Vt.
Stickney, William Wallace.....	Ludlow, Vt.
Stone, Mason Sereno.....	Montpelier, Vt.
Ward, Harry Parker.....	Columbus, Ohio.
Webb, William Seward.	Shelburne, Vt.
Wilds, Chas. M.....	Middlebury, Vt.
Wing, George Washington.....	Montpelier, Vt.
Woodbury, Urban A.....	Burlington, Vt.
Wright, George M.....	New York City.
Wyman, Charles.....	St. Albans, Vt.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Byington, Rev. E. H.....	Newton, Mass.
Clarke, Col. Albert.....	Boston, Mass.
Cressy, Prof. Noah.....	Boston, Mass.
Denio, Herbert W.....	State Library, Albany, N. Y.
Gunn, Dr. Sam'l A.....	Boston, Mass.
Hazen, Rev. Henry A.....	Billerica, Mass.
Hibbard, Homer N.....	5356 Jefferson Ave., Chicago.
Jillson, Hon. Clark.....	Worcester, Mass.
Rogers, Rev. Charles	London, England.
Stephens, Benjamin F.....	4 Trafalgar Sq., London, England.

Stone, Rev. Edwin M. Providence, R. I.
Walker, Rev. E. S. Springfield, Ill.
Winslow, Wm. Copley Boston, Mass.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Bartlett, Rev. Samuel Colcord, D. D. Dartmouth College,
Hanover, N. H.
Burgess, Prof. John W. Columbia College, New York City.
Hough, Franklin B. Loroville, N. J.
Houghton, Henry O. (Deceased 1895). Cambridge, Mass.
Roberts, Daniel. Burlington, Vt.
Wood, Thomas W. New York City

THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Society was incorporated by act of the General Assembly, approved November 5, 1838. Henry Stevens, of Barnet, and Oramel H. Smith, Daniel P. Thompson and George B. Manser, of Montpelier, are specifically named in this act and were, with others, constituted a body corporate, for the purpose of collecting and preserving materials for the civil and natural history of Vermont, under the name of "The Vermont Historical and Antiquarian Society." It was designated in the act that the library and cabinet of the corporation should be kept in the town of Barnet, County of Caledonia, but the section containing this provision was repealed by act approved November 25, 1858. In 1859 two further acts, relating to the Society, were approved, that of November 16, abbreviating the name to "The Vermont Historical Society," and that of November 21, providing for "the use of room number nine," the General Committee room in the State House, as a place for the preservation of the library and for the business meetings of the Society. Occupancy was made subject to the direction of the Sergeant-at-Arms and to the needs of legislative committees. A decade passed without further legislation touching the Society. On November 9, 1869, an act was approved which granted the Society two hundred and fifty dollars for the "preservation of its valuable collections, and to put the same in suitable conditions for examination and use." By accepting and adopting this act, the Secretary of State, the Auditor of Accounts and the State Librarian, were

made *ex-officio* members of the Society and of its Board of Curators, and provision was made, in event of a dissolution of the Society, that its books, collections, and all other property should become the exclusive property of the State. Thus was provision made for the permanent husbandry of the Society's effects, an eminently wise step, considering the distribution of its limited membership over a wide territory, and the further fact that its activities have been measured, in degree, by the amount of time which individual officers have been able to bestow upon its affairs. Under the most trying circumstances, lack of both funds and suitable apartments, the Society has continued in its work of collecting and preserving materials of historic importance. But its means have never been adequate to the performance of its legitimate work. It will be noted that Section 205, of the Vermont Statutes, 1894, provides for an annual appropriation of one hundred dollars for binding and preserving books, documents, and other property. In this provision and in other acts of maintenance, the Society has experienced a gracious support on the part of the State, for which its acknowledgments are due. As the Constitution and By-Laws have not been published for general distribution since 1880, they are reprinted in this copy of the last annual proceedings.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

This association shall be called "The Vermont Historical Society," and shall consist of Resident, Corresponding, and Honorary Members.

ARTICLE II.

The object of the Society shall be to discover, collect, and preserve whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of the State of Vermont, and shall comprise three departments: (1), *The Historical*, having for its object the preservation of whatever relates to the topography, antiquities, civil, literary, and ecclesiastic history of the State; (2), That of *Natural History*, for the formation of a cabinet of natural productions, and more especially those of VERMONT, and for a library of standard works on the natural sciences; and (3), the *Horticultural*, for promoting a taste for the cultivation of choice fruits and flowers, and also for collecting works on horticulture and agriculture, in connection with the general library.

ARTICLE III.

The officers of the Society, to be elected annually, and by ballot, shall be a President, three Vice Presidents, a Recording Secretary, two Corresponding Secretaries of foreign and domestic correspondence, a Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, a Treasurer, and seven Curators from different counties in the State.

ARTICLE IV.

There shall be one annual, and occasional meetings of the Society. The annual meeting for the election of officers shall be at MONTPELIER on Tuesday preceding the third Wednesday of October; the special meetings shall be at such time and place as the Board of Managers shall determine.

ARTICLE V.

All members (Honorary and Corresponding members excepted, with whom it shall be optional), shall pay, on admission, the sum of two dollars, and an additional sum of one dollar annually.

ARTICLE VI.

Members shall be elected upon the recommendation of any member of the Society.

ARTICLE VII.

This Constitution may be altered or amended at the annual meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the members present, provided notice of the proposed change shall have been given at the next preceding annual meeting.

BY-LAWS.

CHAPTER I.

RELATING TO MEMBERS.

1. Members only shall be entitled to vote or to be eligible to any office.
2. No person residing in this State can be a Corresponding Member. A member on removing from the State may become a Corresponding Member on giving notice of his removal and paying all arrears; and a Corresponding Member cannot continue such after returning to the State for a permanent residence, but may become a Resident Member.
3. No member who shall be in arrear for two years, shall be entitled to vote, or to be eligible to any office, and any failure to pay annual dues for two consecutive years, after due notice from the Treasurer, shall be considered a forfeiture of membership; and no person thus expunged from the role of the Society can be eligible to re-admission without the payment of his arrears.
4. No person shall be elected a Resident Member until he shall have previously signified his desire to become such in writing.
5. The yearly assessment is payable at the annual meeting in October.

CHAPTER II.

OF OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES.

1. The President, or in his absence, the highest officer present, shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and regulate the order thereof, and be *ex-officio* chair-

man of the Board of Managers, and when required give the casting vote.

2. One of the Vice-Presidents, with two Curators, shall be a Committee to manage and superintend the Historical Department. Another Vice-President, with two Curators, shall be a Committee to manage and superintend the department of Natural History. The other Vice-President, with two Curators, shall be a Committee to manage and superintend the department of Horticulture.

3. It shall be the duty of these Committees to make a written report at the annual meeting in October upon the condition of their respective departments.

4. The Recording Secretary shall keep the minutes of all meetings of the Society in a suitable book, and at the opening of each one shall read those of the preceding one. He shall have the custody of the Constitution, By-Laws, Records and all papers of the Society, and shall give notice of the time and place of all meetings of the Society, and shall notify all officers and members of their election, and communicate all special votes of the Society to parties interested therein. In the absence of the Recording Secretary his duty shall be performed by one of the Corresponding Secretaries.

5. The Corresponding Secretaries shall conduct all the correspondence of the Society. They shall preserve on file the originals of all communications addressed to the Society, and keep a fair copy of all their letters in books furnished for that purpose. They shall read at each meeting the correspondence, or such abstracts from it as the President may direct, which has been sustained since the previous meeting.

6. The Treasurer shall collect, receive and disburse, all moneys due and payable, and all donations and bequests of money or other property to the Society. He shall pay, under proper vouchers, all the ordinary expenses of the Society, and shall deposit all its funds in one of the Vermont Banks, to the credit of the Society, subject to his checks as Treasurer; and at the annual meeting shall make a true report of all the moneys received and paid out by him, to be audited by the Committee on Finance provided for hereafter.

7. It shall be the duty of the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, to preserve, arrange, and keep in good order, all specimens of natural history, books, manuscripts, documents, pamphlets, and papers of every kind, belonging to the Society. He shall keep a catalogue of the same, and take especial care that no book, manuscript, document, paper, or any property of the Society, confided to his keeping, be removed from the room. He shall also be furnished with a book, in which to record all donations and bequests of whatsoever kind, relating to his department, with the name of the donor, and the time when bestowed.

8. The Curators, with the President, Vice-Presidents, Corresponding and Recording Secretaries, Librarian and Treasurer, shall constitute a Board of Managers, whose duty it shall be to superintend the general concerns of the Society. The President shall, from this Board, appoint the following Standing Committees, viz.: On the Library and Cabinet, on Printing and Publishing, and on Finance.

9. The Committee on the Library and Cabinet shall have the supervisory care of all printed publications,

manuscripts and curiosities. They shall, with the Librarian, provide suitable shelves, cases and fixtures, in which to arrange and display them. The printed volumes and manuscripts shall be regularly numbered and marked with the name of "The Vermont Historical Society." They shall propose at the regular meeting, such books or manuscripts, pertaining to the object of the Society, as they shall deem expedient, which, when approved, shall be by them purchased and disposed of as above directed. They shall be required to visit the library at least once a year, officially, and shall provide a book or books, in which the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper shall keep a record of their proceedings—and be entrusted in general, with the custody, care and increase, of whatever comes within the province of their appointed duty.

10. The Committee on Printing and Publishing shall prepare for publication whatever documents or collections shall be ordered by the Society; shall contract for, and supervise the printing of the same, and shall furnish the Recording Secretary and Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, with such blank notices, summonses, labels, etc., as may be deemed requisite.

11. The Committee on Finance shall consist of at least one member of each of the former Committees, and shall have the general oversight and direction of the funds of the Society. They shall examine the books of the Treasurer, vouch all accounts of moneys expended, and audit his annual report.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE CABINET, LIBRARY, ETC.

1. All donations to the Cabinet, or Library, when

practicable, shall have the donor's name, legibly written or printed, affixed thereto.

2. No article, the property of the Society, shall be removed from the Historical Room without the consent of the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, or one of the Curators.

3. All donations shall be promptly acknowledged by the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper on behalf the Society, and shall be specified by that officer in his report to the Society to be made at the annual meeting.

4. The Library and Cabinet Keeper shall make a written report of the condition of the Library and Cabinet at the annual meeting.

5. All reports of Committees must be in writing, and addressed to the President, and shall be recorded by the Recording Secretary, unless otherwise ordered by a vote of the Society.

6. It shall be deemed the duty of all members, if convenient, to contribute to the Library and Cabinet such papers, pamphlets, books (rare or out of print), which possess historical interest, and such natural products as may illustrate the natural history of the State.

7. The Society shall appoint at the annual meeting one of the Resident, Corresponding or Honorary Members of the Society, to deliver an historical discourse at the succeeding annual meeting, and invite members of the Society to prepare papers relating to distinguished Vermonters, or the civil and natural history of Vermont, to be read at the annual or special meetings of the Society, which papers shall be preserved, by the Recording Secretary, for the use of or publication in the transactions of the Society.

8. Notices of the death of such members of this Historical Society, and eminent Vermonters, as may decease during the year preceding the annual meeting of the Society, shall be prepared under the direction of the Board of Managers and be read at the annual meeting, and be deposited in the archives of the Society for future use and reference.

The Vermont Historical Society.

PROCEEDINGS.

Pursuant to notice, the Vermont Historical Society held its annual meeting in the State House, in Montpelier, on Tuesday, the 20th day of October, A. D. 1896.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Hiram Carleton, and opened with prayer by the Rev. Alonzo N. Lewis.

The following members were present: Hiram Carleton, President, Montpelier; George G. Benedict, Vice President, Burlington; T. C. Phinney, Librarian, Montpelier; T. S. Peck, Corresponding Secretary, Burlington; George W. Scott, Treasurer, Montpelier; Joseph A. De Boer, Recording Secretary, Montpelier; Edward Conant, Randolph, George C. Chandler, Berlin, A. D. Barber, Williston, J. Henry Jackson, Barre, F. W. Baldwin, Barton, Charles Dewey, James C. Houghton, A. N. Lewis and M. E. Smilie, of Montpelier.

President Carleton announced as the first order of business, the election of officers for the year ensuing. He requested for himself, in a brief address to the Society, to be excused from further service in the office of President, which he had held for six years.

The following Board of Officers, for the year ensuing, were duly elected:

President—Hon. George G. Benedict, Burlington, Vt.

First Vice President—Rev. W. S. Hazen, Northfield, Vt.

Second Vice President—Hon. R. M. Colburn, Springfield, Vt.

Third Vice President—James C. Houghton, Montpelier, Vt.

Recording Secretary—Joseph A. De Boer, Montpelier, Vt.

Corresponding Secretary—Gen. T. S. Peck, Burlington, Vt.

Corresponding Secretary—Col. Charles S. Forbes, St. Albans, Vt.

Treasurer—George W. Scott, Montpelier, Vt.

Librarian—Truman C. Phinney, Montpelier, Vt.

Curators—Henry D. Hall, Bennington County; Rev. Henry Fairbanks, Caledonia County; Rev. A. D. Barber, Chittenden County; Hon. George N. Dale, Essex County; Edward Conant, Orange County; Hon. F. W. Baldwin, Orleans County; Hon. Hiram Carleton, Washington County.

The President appointed the following Standing Committees:

Library—Joseph A. De Boer, T. S. Peck, R. M. Colburn.

Printing—J. Henry Jackson, Hiram A. Huse, George W. Scott.

Finance—Charles S. Forbes, Hiram Carleton, George C. Chandler.

Mr. Houghton offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Vermont Historical Society records with great sorrow the death of Levi K. Fuller, Ex-Governor of Vermont. His services to the industries and arts were distinguished by peculiar merit and his official labors in behalf of the State were marked by zeal, abil-

ity and care. Although a member of this Society only since the 16th of October, 1894, yet was his interest in its maintenance and work most active. We therefore join to the general sorrow a profound sense of our personal loss.

The resolution was adopted, ordered recorded, and the Secretary was instructed to send a copy thereof to Mrs. Levi K. Fuller, of Brattleboro, Vt.

The following gentlemen were duly elected members of the Society :

Hon. Urban A. Woodbury, Burlington, Vt., Major Harry Parker Ward, Columbus, Ohio, and Hon. Horace W. Bailey, Newbury, Vt., active members; Herbert W. Denio, State Library, Albany, N. Y., corresponding member.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Cash on hand September 15, 1895.....	\$218 79
Received from dues.....	44 00
From interest.....	9 64
<hr/>	
Total...	\$272 43
Disbursed during the year.....	5 85
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Balance on deposit in the Montpelier Savings Bank and Trust Co., with interest from July 1, 1896..... \$266 58

GEORGE W. SCOTT,
Treasurer.

The report was accepted, adopted, and ordered recorded.

The Secretary reported the donation of a "wooden mortar and pestle, used by the early settlers of Vermont, in the family of Samuel Udall, who came to the town of Hartford, Vt., with his brother in 1772. This has been preserved in the family of the Hon. James Udall, son of Samuel Udall, and is donated by his daughter, Miss Elizabeth Udall, and H. K. Bush

Brown." [Mr. Brown's letter of October 1, 1896.] The Society by vote instructed the Secretary to make a suitable reply.

The President presented to the Society certain documents addressed to the Vermont Historical Society, and found unopened among the effects in the library of the late Professor Joseph Torrey, of Burlington University.

Mr. Lewis moved the appointment of a committee to prepare and present to the Legislature now in session a bill, striking out Section 206, of the Vermont Statutes, 1894. After a full discussion, Mr. De Boer moved to amend by referring the matter under debate to a committee, consisting of Messrs. Chandler, Jackson and Carleton, with instructions to report thereon in writing at the next annual meeting of the Society. Amendment accepted, and the motion as amended carried.

On motion of Mr. Carleton the Librarian was authorized to purchase, if not otherwise obtainable by gift, Volumes IV. and VI. of the *Hemenway Gazetteer*.

On motion of Mr. Lewis, the President and Secretary were instructed to employ some suitable person to make a catalogue of the Society's library, paintings, manuscripts and other property.

On motion of Mr. Carleton, the President, Vice President for Washington County, and the Secretary, were instructed to arrange, if possible, for a public meeting of the Society during the present session of the Legislature and to secure for that purpose the use of the Representatives' Hall.

After the reading and approval of the Secretary's records for the meeting held October 15, 1895, the Society adjourned, subject to the call of the President.

PROCEEDINGS, NOVEMBER 5, 1896.

The Society met pursuant to order of adjournment on the 5th of November, A. D. 1896, at 4.15 o'clock p. m. The meeting was presided over by President George G. Benedict, and opened with prayer by the Rev. A. N. Lewis, of Montpelier.

Members present: George G. Benedict, Burlington; George C. Chandler, Berlin; Henry D. Hall, Bennington; A. D. Barber, Williston; A. N. Lewis, Hiram Carleton, T. C. Phinney and Jos. A. De Boer, Montpelier.

The following gentlemen were duly elected active members of the Vermont Historical Society:

Wendell P. Stafford, St. Johnsbury; Charles A. Prouty, Newport; Frederick S. Platt, Poultney; R. W. Hulburd, Hyde Park; Frederick B. Jennings, New York City; Henry T. Cushman, North Bennington; J. G. McCullough, Bennington; C. M. Wilds, Middlebury; George M. Wright, New York City; R. D. Benedict, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Arthur B. Bisbee, Montpelier.

Mr. Charles M. Bliss, of Bennington, Vt., presented to the Society the following statement relating to Horace Wells, "born in Hartford, Vt., 1815, and discoverer of anæsthesia": —

(a) The following declarations are probably susceptible of proof in regard to the discovery of an anæsthetic by Horace Wells, a native of Vermont:

(b) Mr. Wells, in the late autumn or early winter of 1844, inhaled

nitrous oxide, for aught that he then knew, at the risk of his life. While he was unconscious under its influence, Mr. Riggs, a brother dentist, extracted a tooth without pain.

(c) Mr. Colton, another Vermonter, and still living, administered the gas.

(d) Mr. Wells inhaled the gas of his own motion and by his own desire, and not at the instance of another.

(e) Mr. Wells and Mr. Riggs, and, perhaps, other dentists of the vicinity, continued the use of nitrous oxide for the painless extraction of teeth, and with complete success in most cases, for nearly two years thereafter.

(f) Perhaps Mr. Wells used sulphuric ether also.

(g) Perhaps other operations than the extraction of teeth were performed during this period, and by physicians and surgeons who were aware of Mr. Wells' discovery.

(h) On the 16th of October, 1846, Dr. John Collins Warren operated, at the Massachusetts General Hospital, on a patient etherized by William T. G. Morton.

(i) Dr. Charles T. Jackson claimed to be the originator of this process for procuring insensibility during a surgical operation. This is still claimed for him.

(j) Morton, and probably Jackson, were for a long time, and perhaps at the very outset, well aware of what Wells had already done. Proof of this is to be had.

(k) Jackson and Morton applied to Congress for the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, as a reward for their alleged discoveries.

(l) The claims of Wells, as a prior discoverer, were presented by Truman Smith, Senator from Connecticut. The bill did not pass.

(m) Dr. Long, of Georgia, is said to have been an original discoverer of an anaesthetic agent; but of Long, Wells probably knew nothing.

(n) In Hartford, Conn., there stands a fine statue of Mr. Wells, [photograph presented] with the following inscription on the pedestal:

HORACE WELLS
THE DISCOVERER OF ANÆSTHESIA
DECEMBER 1844

(o) In Hartford, Conn., there was unveiled, December 11, 1894, a memorial tablet, [photograph presented] showing a likeness of Mr.

Wells, giving the date of his birth, 1815, and of his death, 1848, and the following inscription:

TO THE MEMORY OF
HORACE WELLS
DENTIST
WHO UPON THIS SPOT
DECEMBER 11 1844
SUBMITTED TO A SURGICAL OPERATION
DISCOVERED
DEMONSTRATED AND PROCLAIMED
THE BLESSINGS OF
ANÆSTHESIA

On motion of Mr. Lewis it was voted to refer the preceding statement to a committee of three, to be appointed by the President, said committee to report thereon at a future meeting of the Society.

The committee designated by the President consists of Hiram Carleton, Montpelier, Dr. J. Henry Jackson, Barre, and Ephraim Morris, Hartford.

On motion of Mr. Carleton, it was voted to present, without charge, volumes I and II of the Society's transactions to Mr. Herbert W. Denio, Corresponding Member, of the State Library, Albany, N. Y.

On motion the Society adjourned to meet in Representatives' Hall at half past seven o'clock, for the purpose of carrying out the public programme arranged under vote of October 20, 1896.

Pursuant to public notice and order of adjournment, the Society met in Representatives' Hall at 7.30 o'clock p. m., Thursday, November 5, A. D. 1896.

The meeting was presided over by President George

G. Benedict, and opened with prayer by the Rev. Samuel C. Bartlett, D. D., of Dartmouth College.

The Hon. Hiram Carleton, in behalf of certain donors, presented to the Society an oil portrait of the late Hon. E. P. Walton, Sixth President of the Vermont Historical Society :

REMARKS BY JUDGE CARLETON.

Mr. President:—I am requested, in behalf of Mrs. E. P. Walton, Mrs. Mary Walton Dewey, and her daughter, Mrs. Clara D. Hildreth, to present to the Vermont Historical Society a portrait of the late Hon. Eliakim Persons Walton, painted by Mr. Thomas W. Wood, the President of the National Academy of Design.

Mr. Walton was for fourteen years the honored and beloved President of our Society. His name appears in an early list of its members, and the forty years of his life thereafter were filled with devotion to its interests, in the collection and preservation of the rich treasures of Vermont's early history, which to him was always a labor of love. But this is not the time to recount his varied and important labors in behalf of our Society and his beloved State. It is to be hoped that at some future meeting this may be fittingly done. It is only for me, in the name of the donors, to present this portrait to the Society, and request its acceptance. This I now do.

The portrait, richly framed, rested on an easel near the speaker's desk, and was unveiled by Mr. T. C. Phinney, Librarian. It was accepted by the President in the following words :

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT BENEDICT.

In behalf of the Vermont Historical Society I accept this graceful and valuable gift. It is a fitting thing that the portrait of Mr. Walton should hang upon the walls of this State House, with those of other honored presidents of this Society and other distinguished citizens of Vermont. For Mr. Walton was a true and loyal Vermonter. As an able journalist, as a just and honest politician in the best sense of the word; as the wise counsellor of many public men; as a learned and careful historian; and as a sound and capable legislator, he exerted a



E. C. Malton

very wide influence and contributed much to the good name and fame of our commonwealth. It is also fitting that this speaking likeness of our departed friend and associate — admirable as a work of art, and one of the most successful efforts of the gifted artist, who has said that the painting of it was "a labor of love" on his part — should be committed to the keeping of this Society. Succeeding Rev. Dr. Lord as president, he held the office, as you have remarked, for fourteen years — a longer period than any previous president, with a single exception. He edited the second volume of the Collections of the Society. One of the most valuable historical papers ever presented before it, on the first Legislature of Vermont, was prepared and read by him; and the eight volumes of the Proceedings of the Governors and Councils of Vermont, covering the first sixty years of the existence of this commonwealth, edited by him and filled with valuable notes and biographical sketches of many prominent citizens of Vermont in those early days, was one of the greatest labors of his life and forms a contribution to the history of the State, of unsurpassed value. This Society and this State will be glad to possess this admirable portrait, and I tender our heartiest thanks to the donors, to whose thoughtful interest we owe this gift.

In the course of his remarks Mr. Carleton read the following letter, written by Senator Justin S. Morrill:

MR. MORRILL'S LETTER.

STRAFFORD, VT., Nov. 1, 1896.

Dear Mrs. Walton:—Our mutual friend, Mr. Benedict, has written to me that you and Mrs. Dewey, sister of your late husband, the Hon. E. P. Walton, have had his portrait painted by Thomas W. Wood, which you propose to present to the Vermont Historical Society, Thursday, November 5, and that you and Mrs. Dewey desire me to be at Montpelier on that occasion, and present the portrait to the Society.

I much regret that my arrangements to leave home with my family for Washington on the 4th of November are such as to make a compliance with your wishes impracticable. I hardly need to answer you that I lament to miss the pleasure it would afford me to offer some tribute to my lifelong friend.

He succeeded his father, General Walton, as editor of the *Vermont Watchman*, and was an intelligent, ready and forcible writer, and I do

not believe he wrote "one line which dying he wished to blot." Not only was he a ready writer, but he was also a ready and cogent speaker.

When he served in the House of Representatives at Washington, it was my fortune also to have been a member with him, and to know that he was esteemed a valuable member, as well in debate as in his committee room. A speech which he made on the tariff was very highly commended for its marked ability. His laboriously acquired knowledge of the early history of Vermont left him, on that subject, with few rivals in our State. In social life his genial temper and sparkling humor made him everywhere an attractive and welcome guest. You are fortunate in obtaining a portrait by an artist having the high reputation of Mr. Wood. It would have been a gratification to me to have said something of one to whom I was so long on intimate terms of friendship, but you will have no lack of friends that will esteem it a privilege to bring out many strong points in the character of Mr. Walton if any opportunity is offered. Very sincerely yours,

JUSTIN S. MORRILL.

Mrs. E. P. Walton, Montpelier, Vt.

On motion of Mr. De Boer the following resolution was adopted, and ordered to be recorded:

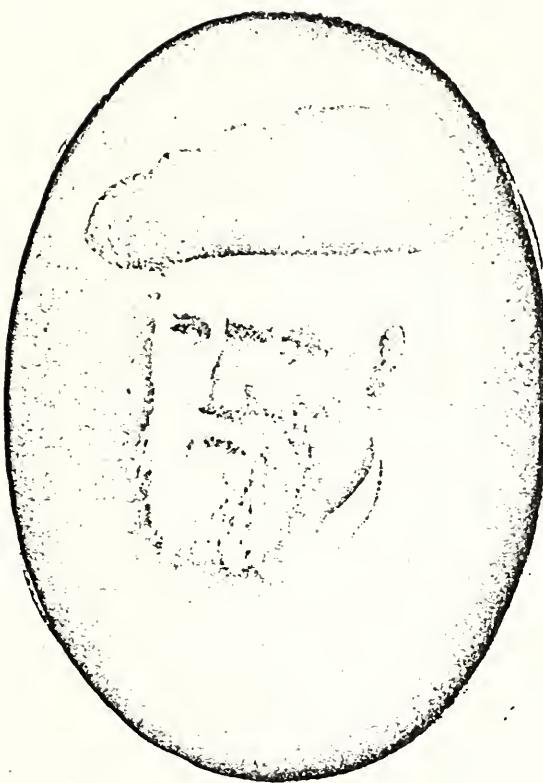
Resolved, That the thanks of the Vermont Historical Society are hereby given to Mrs. E. P. Walton, Mrs. Mary [Walton] Dewey and Mrs. Clara [Dewey] Hildreth, for their donation to the Society of an oil portrait of the late Hon. E. P. Walton, Sixth President of the Society.

At the close of the presentation exercises the President introduced Henry D. Hall, Esq., of Bennington, who read a paper on "The Battle of Bennington," in refutation of certain statements recently made about Vermont's share in that action.

[See full text of the address, beginning page 31].

The President next introduced the Rev. A. D. Barber, of Williston, who read a paper on "Vermont as a Leader in Educational Progress."

[See full text of the address, beginning page 71].



THOMAS WATERMAN WOOD.

Thomas Waterman Wood, Painter, was born in Montpelier, Vt., November 12, 1823. He first studied in the studio of Chester Harding, Boston. After painting portraits in Canada, Washington and Baltimore, he went to Europe in 1858. On his return he painted portraits in Nashville and Louisville. In 1869 he located permanently in New York City. He first exhibited at the National Academy of Design in 1855, was elected an Associate in 1860 and an Academician in 1871. He was president of the American Water Color Society, 1878-1887; vice-president of the National Academy of Design, 1879-1891, and has been president of the latter institution since 1891. Mr. Wood's personal donations of oil portraits to the *Vermont Historical Society* are as follows: Rev. William H. Lord, D. D., [1874], Daniel P. Thompson, [1880] and Senator Justin S. Morrill, [1892]. Other Paintings by Mr. Wood, now in the possession of the Society, are as follows: Senator Samuel Prentiss, [1880], Mrs. Samuel Prentiss, [1895], Dr. Edward Lamb, [1895], Hon. E. P. Walton, [1890].

On motion of Mr. Houghton the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved. That the Society express upon the records its thanks to Henry D. Hall, Esq., and the Rev. A. D. Barber, for the instructive papers presented by them to the Society at its present meeting.

Mr. Ephraim Morris, of Hartford, Vt., was duly elected an active member of the Society.

On motion of Mr. Carleton the Society adjourned at 9:45 p. m., subject to the call of the President and Secretary.

A true copy of the proceedings.

Attest:

JOSEPH AREND DE BOER

Recording Secretary.

The Battle of Bennington.

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE

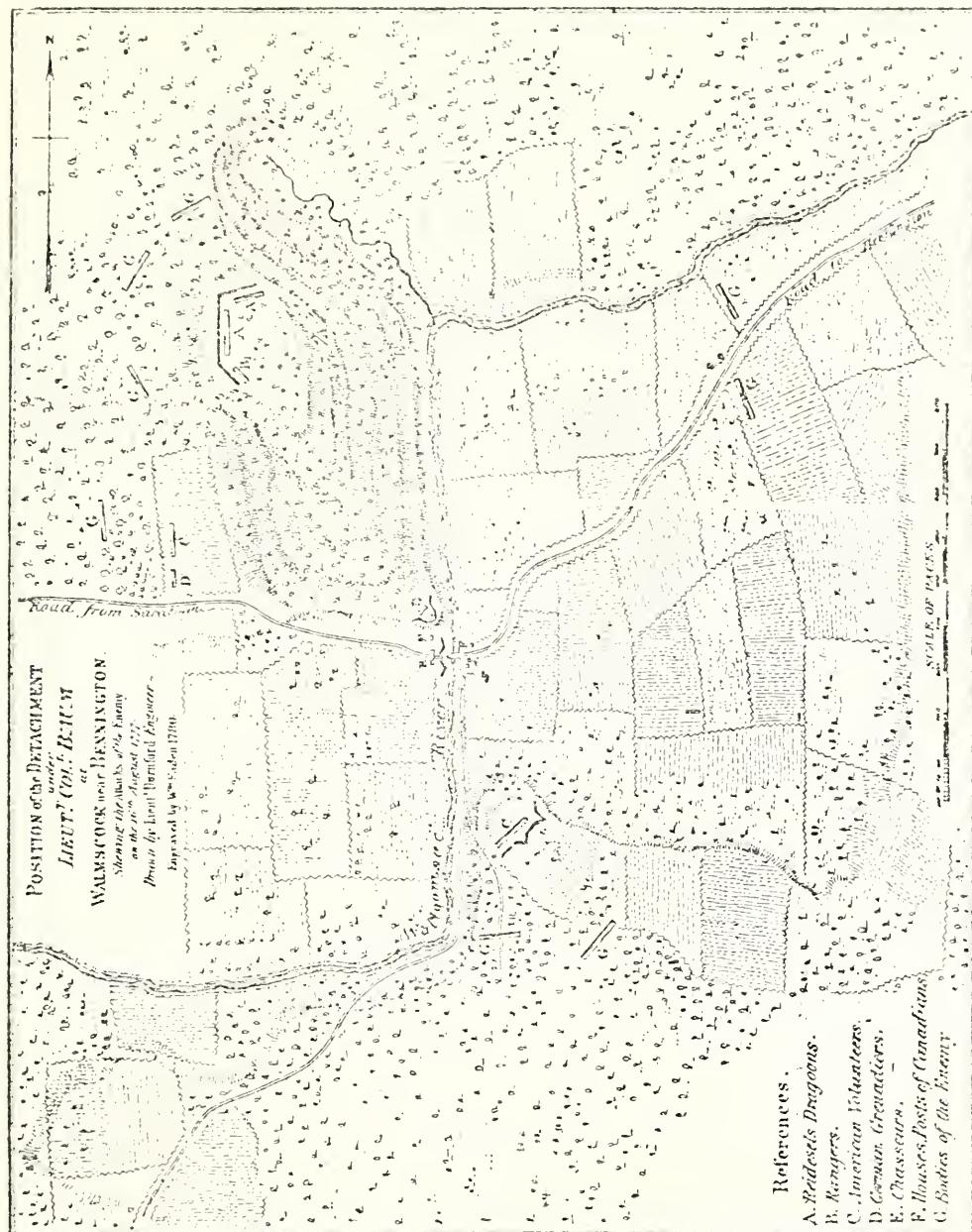
Vermont Historical Society

BY

HENRY D. HALL.

Delivered in the Representatives' Hall, Montpelier,

NOVEMBER 5, 1896.



The river was by mistake called Hosack and there was no indication of the points of the compass, otherwise the above is an exact copy, reduced, of the map in Burgoyne's State of the Expedition. The letter press is, of course, British. For "American Volunteers" read Tories. The expression, "Bodies of the Enemy" means Forces of Gen. Stark. The word "Walloomsac" means Walloomsac.

Mr. President and members of the Vermont Historical Society, and Ladies and Gentlemen:

The attempt of Hon. S. D. Locke in the April, 1892, number of the "National Magazine of American History," to change the long established and accepted facts connected with the Battle of Bennington, is a marked specimen of perseverance in the perversion of history. That those unacquainted with all the facts, who may not have easy access to the history made and noted at the time, or shortly after its happening, may fully understand it, a review of the article at some length may not be inappropriate. While sometimes it may appear to the conservative mind to be too aggressive, considering the long quiet which has reigned between the "Grants and the Yorkers," the excuse is, that the provocation has been given and can only be fairly met by considering some things, that by common consent have for many years been left to rest, and it has been hoped might remain forever in repose. And, though matters may be treated which had better not be, except for the challenge offered and in the interest of a proper understanding of all the facts in their several bearings, still will it be in a spirit of fairness, and with a desire to allay rather than to foster division and prejudice. The endeavor will be before closing, to leave nothing about the story of the battle, but truth relieved of theory and imagination.

The paper begins with stating, that, "much that has been written as history, even by our best equipped writers, is confused with error or quite false." And, as illustrating his meaning by conspicuous examples, he quotes from Bryant's History, and the American Cy-

clopedia. The vital error among the so styled, "medley of errors," in the opinion of Mr. Locke, must be the typographical one, where "at" is put for "near," thus changing the locality, as it should read *near* Bennington. For surely he cannot think it much of an error for the victors to be called "New Hampshire militia," when Gen. Stark's brigade must have been nearly two-thirds of the army under him, and as he seems very willing at all times to have it understood, that few Vermont or Bennington men had a share in the Battle of Bennington, so-called in history for one hundred fifteen years. That "no trace now remains to indicate the precise locality of the engagement" is substantially correct, for there is nothing of the entrenchments or marks of any excavations to show where they were located. It is true the hill in its position and the stream running at its base, are as they were at the time of the battle, but in order to locate as nearly as possible the camp and breastworks of Baum, and the site of the Tory breastworks, to place markers upon them, a survey was made some ten years ago, "by some enterprising citizens of Bennington," of whom the writer was one, carrying the surveyor's chain up the steep embankment from the river. Fighting was done over ground covering a distance of two or three miles, and all marks of the "precise locality of any engagement," have long since disappeared.

Mr. Locke says, with reference to history being "confused with error," it "seems particularly true of the accounts that come to us as the accepted history of 'Burgoyne's expedition to the left,' including 'the two battles, one with Baum and one with Breyman,'" and, "the story is plain how Baum's five or six hundred men,

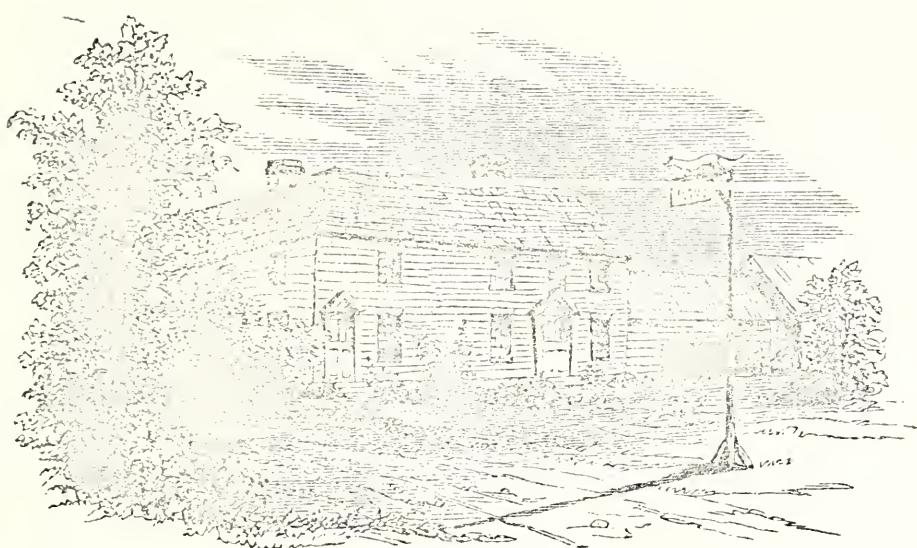
(reliable history makes them seven or eight hundred), *taken in the rear so that their redoubts counted for nothing*, after a desperate conflict, lasting from three to five o'clock, were beaten by Stark's eighteen to twenty-two hundred militia." It certainly is strange, that the situation of the contending forces is not better understood by those who write about it, and from these intimations, it is not so very wonderful that errors do creep into history, and wrong impressions are often given. Baum was located on a hill with a steep embankment three or four hundred feet high looking to the east, up the road which Stark was expected to advance upon, at the foot of which was the Walloomsac river, making it quite impossible for an attack on his front. Having little or no fear of the enemy from that direction, he stationed some Chasseurs at the foot of the hill on the left, where the river turns to the south at nearly a right angle, to guard the approach from the north side if the foe should cross the stream near that point. The "Tory breastwork" had been erected on his right, sixty or eighty rods to the south-east, on rising ground in the direction of Stark's encampment, manned by Peter's Corps of provincials. *On both sides of the road at the bridge at the foot of the hill on the right, between his camp and the Tory breastworks, had been built lesser fortifications occupied by Canadian Rangers and German Grenadiers, while west on the Sancoick road had been located bodies of men with cannon, as though Stark would advance only from the east, and if he forced these different positions would be met and put to rout before getting to his rear. To make all secure, Baum took

*(See Durnford's map.)

another precaution, and built "breastworks of earth and timber" during the rainy day and night of the 15th, looking west or in the rear of his camp, and which would only be of use in case the Americans out-flanked him, and then the works would be in his *front*, for protection. The skillful Stark out-generalized him and before there had been any movements, observable, but marching and counter marching in his front, "to amuse Baum as Stark said," Colonels Nichols and Herrick, by long marches around either flank, had come up in his rear at three P. M., and joining their forces made the attack. Then, "the redoubts" did count for all that could be expected, but the discipline and the valor of Baum's men could not withstand the courage and impetuosity of the Americans, and they were overpowered.

It should not be forgotten in treating this subject that a feeling had grown out of the difficulties arising from the tenure in which the lands of many of the inhabitants of the "grants" had been held, and that the stand taken by New York in regard to them did engender such a spirit as made them jealous of Vermont's prestige, and indifferent to, or against defending, what she felt interested in sustaining. This bias was shown more particularly in the frontier towns previously and up to the time when Burgoyne made his "diversion to the left," sending Baum under a command to take Bennington.

It is not the intention to launch out upon imagination and theory, throwing aside established history, as an examination of the "Battle of Walloomsac" will evidence has been done in reference to many incidents of the battle, but to see if Gen. Stark and Bennington should really be taken into account in the transactions



THE CATAMOUNT TAVERN.

Here were the headquarters of the "Green Mountain Boys" when they met to devise plans for the protection of their families and their once paid for homes from the rapacity of the land jobbers and speculators of New York, known to them as "Yorkers." In this tavern, also, was the room which was occupied for years by the Vermont Council of Safety. The sign was a stuffed catamount skin, upon a high pole, with jaws grinning towards New York. The tavern was built about 1769 and destroyed by fire March 30, 1871.

of the memorable 16th of August, 1777. Mr. Locke says "there was no engagement in Bennington." No well informed person claims there was. It is not supposed there were any of Baum's men in Bennington except as prisoners of war, as Stark did not intend there should be, and he succeeded in keeping them "at bay," unless in skirmishing on the 14th or 15th some might have crossed the line separating New York from Vermont. He further says, "there was no retreat of Baum's detachment after his defeat, but it was annihilated." This is only an assertion made to sustain a theory. What say those who were engaged in the affair, and would be likely to know more about it? Gen. Stark says, in a letter to the Committee of Safety of New Hampshire, two days after the battle, "at sunset we obliged them to retreat a second time." There is no other meaning to this assertion than that there had been a retreat of the first detachment under Baum. Jesse Field, whom the writer remembers, says in a manuscript statement given Gov. Hiland Hall, author of the "Early History of Vermont," and for years President of the Vermont Historical Society, with reference to the retreat after the first engagement, "I should think I did not continue in the pursuit over half a mile, though some parties went farther." Secretary Fay, of the Council of Safety, says in a letter written August 16th at six o'clock p. m., "Stark is now in an action. . . . The enemy were driven about a mile, but being reinforced made a second stand, and still continue the conflict." Thomas Mellen, a soldier in the battle, to James Davie Butler says, "We pursued till we met Breyman with eight hundred fresh troops and larger cannon, which

opened a fire of grape shot." Breyman, in his letter to Lord George Germain, August 20th, 1777, says, "The Indians made good their retreat from the first affair, as did Capt. Frazer with part of his company, and many of the provincials and Canadians."

Mr. Locke says, "he resides less than one and a half miles from where Breyman was defeated, and has been critically over both fields many times." Others had been over the whole ground scores of years before he contemplated visiting it, or before his birth, to obtain all the facts connected with the movements of the men on both sides, and by them the history of the battle was written years ago. Among these was the before mentioned Gov. Hiland Hall, who was born in 1795, but eighteen years after the battle was fought, and within less than three miles of the field, and who often visited the memorable ground in company with those who were in the battle and did not leave the field until the last of Breyman's reinforcements were on their way to the camp of Burgoyne, on the Hudson. Mr. Hall, who made history a study from his childhood, was greatly interested in the war of the revolution, and especially in the trials of the early settlers of the New Hampshire grants, and no less in the Battle of Bennington, which turned so effectually the tide of British victories. In personal conversation on the battlefield with surviving soldiers he learned, as none others could without such opportunities, the positions of the enemy, and preserved in writing the most important facts of both engagements as reported by the men who took part in them. His understanding and account, though differing much from that of Mr. Locke in reference to these engagements, has been received

and quoted for years as worthy of confidence, and in a measure authoritative. A remarkable occasion, and as showing his interest in the revolutionary soldier, he had as guests to dinner, on the 14th of August, 1840, sixty-three years after the battle, at his home, at that time in Bennington Centre, sixteen of the surviving heroes, several of whom were in the Battle of Bennington, the eldest being ninety years old, and the average of all reaching eighty years.

It will not, perhaps, add weight to these thoughts to say the writer of this article lives within a mile of the encampment of Gen. Stark, which he left on the 16th at the head of the New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Vermont troops, mostly militia, including Colonels Warner, Herrick and Brush as officers, each of Bennington, with many undisciplined men, 'tis true, and with reference to whom Mr. Locke says: "Bennington collected two companies of unorganized militia of about one hundred men in both,* but without a man whose name has appeared in the history of the action." Does he mean to cast a sneer on the fidelity, fame or patriotism of the unnamed in history of the rank and file of Bennington militia, who risked their lives on that eventful day, and some of whom were carried to their homes after the battle, cold and silent in death? It might not seem generous to think it of him, though the insinuation may, perhaps, warrant such a rendering. But history *does record* the names of "four of Bennington's most respected Citizens, who fell on that field of battle: John Fay (son of Stephen), Henry Walbridge (brother of Ebenezer), Daniel Warner (cousin of the Colonel),

* The rolls of the two companies show over one hundred fifty men.

and Nathan Clark (son of Nathan and brother of Isaac). They were all in the prime of life and all heads of families, leaving widows and children to mourn their sudden bereavement." If the proportion of Bennington men to the whole force under Gen. Stark, was as Mr. Locke seems constrained to make it, then the deaths on the American side would proportionally have been between eighty and ninety, instead of thirty as it is recorded in history. What better praise could be bestowed on the Bennington heroes than Gen. Stark gave them when he wrote to Gen. Gates August 22nd, 1777, saying, "I then marched in company with Colonels Warner, . . . Herrick and Brush, . . . I also sent Colonel Herrick with three hundred men in the rear of their right, . . . in a few minutes the action began in general, it lasted two hours, the hottest I ever saw in my life, . . . the enemy were obliged to give way. I gave orders to rally again, but in a few moments was informed that there was a large reinforcement, on their march, within two miles. Luckily for us, that moment Col. Warner's regiment (under Lieut.-Col. Samuel Safford of Bennington) came up fresh, who marched on and began the attack afresh. . . . I cannot particularize any officers, as they all behaved with the greatest spirit and bravery. Col. Warner's superior skill in the action was of extraordinary service to me. I would be glad if he (a Bennington man) and his men (some of whom were Bennington men) could be recommended to Congress."

Mr. Locke says, "These engagements at Walloomsac known in the current history as the Battle of Bennington, should be called the battle of Walloomsac," and

gives his own views as to what should determine the name for a battle, and the precise place where a monument to perpetuate a victory should be erected to be most appropriate, and hand down to posterity the gallant deeds of the actors, and inspire the noblest impulses for liberty, valor and patriotism. In his voluminous endeavor to answer Hon. B. H. Hall and others, in the "Troy Times" of December 9th, 1891, he makes the statement nearly a score of times, adducing proof which would warrant calling it "the battle of Sancoik," "Baum's defeat," "Breyman's disaster" or "battle of Hoosick," quite as much as the "battle of Walloomsac," but being partial to "Walloomsac," he can see no good reason why it should have been called for over a century, "the Battle of Bennington." Gordon, in his "History of the American Revolution" contemporaneous with the events narrated, published in London in 1788, in his comments upon and description of this battle, never so much as mentions the name "Walloomsac," but speaks of Bennington at least eight times in such ways as follows: "According to information, the Americans had a great deposit of corn, flour and store cattle at Bennington, which were guarded only by militia;" "he therefore entertained the design of surprising the stores at Bennington." "And signal victory over the enemy in their lines at Bennington;" "the severe check the enemy have met with at Bennington;" "especially as the disaster at Bennington added to their delay;" "but the Bennington affair put them in better spirits;" "after the affair at Bennington," etc. All this, as though the distinguished historian had never heard of the river or farm Mr. Locke would now have the battle named after, and who we have no reason to sup-

pose was biased in favor of or against New York or Vermont. It will be seen by referring to the map* that Mr. Locke speaks of as "calling the battlefield Walms-coik or Walloomsac," that in order to have it known in what part of North America it was located, "*near Bennington*" was wisely added, though it was suppressed in his reference to it. Gov. Clinton wrote within a week after Baum and Breyman were discomfitted, "Since the *affair at Bennington* not an Indian has been heard of; the scalping has ceased."

Mr. Locke adopts a theory "that the name of the place where a battle is fought should be the name of the battle." Does he forget, when he is claiming so much, that he also says, "the last or decisive engagement when the largest number of the enemy were fighting was at Sancoik," and Breyman, he further says, "went no farther than Sancoik when he was defeated." He also says in this connection, "Sancoik was then a little hamlet nearly as large as Bennington." The last quotation is made that the reader may judge of the candor and ingenuousness exhibited in the efforts to *make* history after so long a lapse of time, by changing well authenticated and established facts. But the number of houses and size of the hamlet has far less to do with its importance and connection with the battle, in giving it a name, than the influence its stalwart men of brain, nerve and muscle had, who were engaged for years in making the history of the embryo State of Vermont during the revolutionary period, and the difficulties of the early settlers with the State of New York, in its endeavor to eject them from their once paid for lands and homes. The

*See Durnford's map.

heroism, the self-sacrifice, and clear-headed common sense shown in their counsels, made them a power, and their conduct on the field, in which capacity they were so often called to act, not only for themselves and neighbors, but in the interest of the colonies, added greatly to their prowess, and gave them a name through all the land.

But what does give the name to a battle, or has from time immemorial? There has been no fixed rule for their naming, but like the naming of children, circumstances and surroundings govern, and a name suggested by its adaptation to the event, meets the views of those concerned, and acquiescence determines it, and then David or Jonathan, Patience or Dorothy, battle of Bennington or Walloomsac, is the proper one, and becomes unchangeable after a period of one hundred and fifteen years. And the location of a monument depends upon the connection of what is to be perpetuated with the circumstances which brought about the event or battle, or whatever may have taken place. Such ever has been the rule, and such undoubtedly always will be, although it does not meet with entire approbation in this case.

In looking at the names given some of the fifteen "Battles," which Prof. Cressey pronounces, "as having had the most decisive influence," what has given them their names? Not always the field or ground upon which they were fought, but other circumstances or reasons have determined many of them. Arbela has given the name "Battle of Arbela," to a battle fought (301 B. C.) between Alexander the Great and Darius, though in fact "the scene of the conflict was 'Gaugamela,' and it was only in the subsequent pursuit, that the conqueror arrived

at Arbela, where Darius had left his baggage and treasure, forty to fifty miles distant." "Varu's defeat by the Germans, A. D. 9, in a battle near Kreutzberg, rolled back the tide of Roman conquest, and the battle was called 'Herman-Schlach,' that is Herman's fight." The "battle of Blenheim did not actually take place here, but at a village in the vicinity called Hochstadt." This important battle was fought August 13th, 1704, when "France and Bavaria on the one hand with 56,000 men, stood opposed to Holland, England, Austria, Savoy, Portugal and the German Empire on the other with 52,000 men commanded by Marlborough and Prince Eugene." The "battle of Poltova" was fought in 1709, "Poltova being famous as the scene of the defeat of Charles 12th, by Peter the Great, and a monument commemorating the victory of the Czar stands in the principal square; while three miles from the town, a mound surmounted by a cross still known as the 'Swedish tomb' marks the battle field." The battle fought at Freehold, New Jersey, County of Monmouth, June 28th, 1778, was styled, "The battle of Monmouth," and the name has since been acquiesced in, though it took the name of the county in which it was fought, rather than that of the town, or eminence or morass that figure so prominently in the history of the battle. The battle of Waterloo and the Bunker Hill Monument have been sufficiently commented upon by others, showing that the battle ground of Waterloo is not located by the name, neither does the location of the monument on Breed's Hill determine the name of the battle fought on Breed's Hill. It would be equally pertinent and historically correct, to say, the battle of Bunker Hill fought on

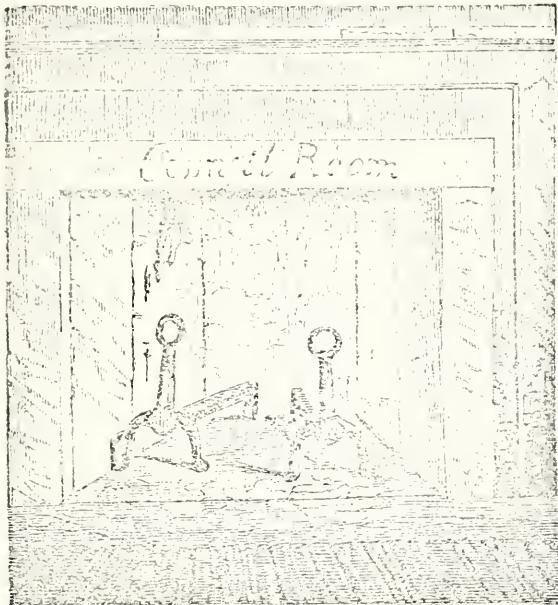
Breed's Hill, Charlestown, or the battle of Bennington fought on the heights of the Walloomsac in Hoosick. Thus by these instances, which are only a few of those which might be cited, it is shown that many things enter into the giving of a name to a battle, or the location of a monument.

Mr. Locke further says, in order to show that "Walloomsac" should be the name, "The people of Bennington, a third of a century thereafter, reapproved the earlier naming," and quotes the invitation to Gen. Stark to be present at a celebration, remarking "this invitation emphasizes two facts, first—That celebrations were held annually and on the battle field," "second—This invitation emphasizes also the fact that annual celebrations were not then state or town institutions." History, which is reliable, says the first anniversary of the battle was held in Bennington, August 16th, 1778, with an oration by Noah Smith, Esq., of Bennington, in which he spoke of the fight as "the Battle of Bennington," and yearly the eventful day was celebrated here until in 1802 there was a gathering on the battle ground and a sham-fight was had by the soldiery. Afterwards, until 1810, it was celebrated in Bennington. This celebration was a Republican gathering, as will be seen by the call as published in the newspaper of the time, which reads "The committee solicit a general attendance of their Republican fellow citizens on the 16th of August next, at ten o'clock A. M., at the former headquarters of Gen. Stark near the dwelling house of Mr. David Henry,* in a field near the boundary line of Bennington and Hoosick, after which an oration will be pronounced and a repast pro-

* A citizen of Bennington.

vided for the citizens assembled." The committee, Jonathan Robinson, Eleaser Hawks and David Fay, who sent the invitation to Gen. Stark, were all Bennington men, and the "toasts" given at the "repast provided" give something of an idea of the feeling of satisfaction in the name which had been given the conflict, as entertained by the then living veterans, and those who came out on "that auspicious day." Gen. David Robinson, of Bennington, who was in the battle, and was now equipped with the broad-sword taken from Col. Baum on the bloody field, was the marshal of the day, Rev. Daniel Marsh, of Bennington, offered the prayer, and among the toasts were, "Gen. John Stark, the Leonidas of America," another "the surviving heroes of Bennington battle, though their locks are whitened with many winters, yet their hearts are still warm in their country's cause," and the heading of another, "the heroes of liberty who fell in Bennington battle."

In 1812 the anniversary of the Battle of Bennington was celebrated in Arlington, Vt., by the "Washington Benevolent Society," with others from the county. In 1828 a celebration was held near Judge Draper's in Shaftsbury, Vt. In 1832, a celebration was held at North Bennington, Gen. David Robinson, president; Col. J. M. Potter and Maj. Norman Blackmer, marshals, and Hon. Hiland Hall, orator. In 1833 the day was celebrated in White Creek, with committees to co-operate from White Creek, Shaftsbury, Bennington and Hoosick. All other celebrations with one exception, that of 1834, were held in Bennington unto this day, unless it might be political or party conventions of different kinds. Thus we have three on the battle ground



THE "COUNCIL ROOM"

The engraving, cut in the stone mantel one hundred and twenty years ago, shows this to be the "Fire Place" of the Council Room where Cols. Seth Warner, Ethan Allen and their associates met for consultation before Vermont was recognized as a state.

or near it, one in White Creek, N. Y., one each in Arlington, Pownal and Shaftsbury, and nearly one hundred in the town of Bennington, and for the first twenty or thirty years after with a procession from the court house, near the site of the battle monument, to the old "meeting house," which was located near the present First church, in their march passing the famous "Catamount Tavern" and the "Vermont Council of Safety room."* Does this look like establishing the "facts," as stated in the paper under consideration, which would not only intimate, but maintain, there was in early times a community of feeling in the two states of New York and Vermont as to the battle? Such was not the case, and there never has been a disposition on the part of New York generally, or counties adjacent to Bennington in that direction, except that which was drawn or forced out for perpetuating the glorious event of August 16th, 1777. This is said with all due deference to our neighbors, among whom there has ever been many conspicuous examples to the contrary, and we each would have agreed to have gone along in "the even tenor of our way," with no jealousies or prejudices to parade before the world had not the attempt been made to change many established facts with reference to the battle and the spirit of its celebrations. It has always needed Bennington and Vermont men, although the battlefield was in Hoosick, to start, carry forward, and complete the celebration of the battle, when it has been done *solely* on patriotic grounds. The people of New York who took so little interest in fighting the battle, have since

*See plates "Catamount Tavern" and "Council Room."

taken comparatively but little interest in commemorating the victory.

* In connection with the location of the Bennington Battle Monument, Mr. Locke endeavors to make little of the fact of a supply of stores and provisions at Bennington, carrying the idea that the matter of provisions has been trumped up and more made of it than is warranted from the situation at the time, and that it may be doubted if there really was a large quantity at Bennington. In addition to what has been presented by B. H. Hall, Esq., and others, and the risk of repeating something that may have been offered, an extract bearing upon the matter from a letter by Gen. Arthur St. Clair, to the President of the Vermont Convention, at Windsor, Vt., dated "Otter Creek, July 7th, 1777," the day of the battle of Hubbardton, reads, "I am now on my march to Bennington, which place I am obliged to make, on account of provisions, the enemy having last night possessed themselves of Skeensborough." Also, an extract from a "circular for aid," "to the commanding officers of militia and committees of safety in the State of Massachusetts Bay—Connecticut," dated "Bennington, July 8th, 1777." After saying news had come of an engagement, "the particulars of which we have not yet obtained," (the Battle of Hubbardton), it is said, "unless the enemy be soon stopped and repelled the whole country will fall into their hands, which will prove the ruin of the whole country as we have large stores deposited in this place which we shall of necessity be obliged to leave to the enemy and retreat down into the New England States, which will soon reduce the country

*Monument plate.

to 'cleanness of teeth.'" Signed, "Moses Robinson, Col.; Nath'l Brush, Lt. Col.; Joseph Farnsworth, Dep'ty Commissary; Elijah Dewey, Captain; John Fay, Chairman." Also, Gen. St. Clair to Gen. Schuyler, dated, "Dorset, July 8th, 1777." "I am in great distress for provisions. If I can be supplied at Manchester I shall proceed directly for Fort Edward, or Saratoga, as circumstances may direct; if not, I shall be obliged to go to Bennington." Ira Allen, Secretary of the Vermont Council of Safety, in a circular to military officers "whom it may concern," dated, "Manchester, July 15th, 1777," says, after asking for all immediate assistance in their power to check the enemy in their advance, "the Continental Stores in Bennington seem to be their present aim." The letter of Gen. Burgoyne to Col. Baum, dated, "near Saratoga, August 14th, 1777, seven at night," does not appear to have received the attention it should, touching the matter of provisions. He says to Col. Baum, "you will please send off to my camp, as soon as you can, wagons, and draft cattle, and likewise, such other cattle as are not necessary for your subsistence. Let the wagons and carts bring off all the *flour* and *wheat* they can that you do not retain for the same purpose. This transport must be under the charge of a commission officer." If he refers, as is supposed, to the *flour* and *wheat* mentioned in Col. Baum's letter to him written from Sancoik, at 9 o'clock A. M., of the same day, then Mr. Locke is in error when he says that "Baum could make no disposition of these articles," the flour and wheat, etc., "but to destroy them." We have further from Burgoyne's orderly book, August 17th, 1777, in speaking of the "expedition which marched to

the left," "the flour taken from the enemy to be delivered into the hands of the commissary here," which must have refered to that captured at Sancoik. The reference to the destroying of flour and wheat looks like an effort to make it appear that Burgoyne's army was not in much need of provisions, when in fact, a supply was one of the things uppermost in his mind. In the same letter Burgoyne says, "I will write you in full to-morrow in regard to getting the horses out of the hands of the savages," which shows that provisions were of greater consequence at this critical time than even the horses, which were so much needed, especially as the letter of Baum, inquiring as to getting horses from the savages, had been written to him the day before.

In speaking of the name of the battle, and endeavoring to have everything appear fair in the presentation of the subject, he says, "No single instance is recalled other than this under consideration, when a battlefield has taken the name of a hamlet of a dozen houses' nine miles away." What are the facts in regard to this hamlet, and the town which did give the name to the battle fought on the 16th of August, 1777, between Gen. Stark and Colonels Baum and Breyman? The "Vermont Historical Magazine," page 136, says, "The population of Bennington in 1775 was about 1,500," so it might be expected in 1777 to be at least 1,600. In 1800, twenty-three years after the battle, "the territory now included in the present village of Bennington contained but twenty buildings exclusive of barns and sheds," so that by far the greater part of the inhabitants, at the time of the battle, lived in the vicinity of Bennington Centre, where was standing the Continental store house, the remainder

being located principally in the western and northwestern parts of the town, on the border of the town of Osick and state of New York. Thus we see the hamlet, so contemptuously spoken of as one of a "dozen houses," must have contained over one hundred houses, as that and the vicinity must have had dwellings to the number of nearly, or quite, three hundred, to be in proportion to the inhabitants. That there may be a correct understanding as to the population and dwellings, it may be said "the first census was taken in 1791, when the number of inhabitants was 2,377," which up to this period would be the natural growth of this most important town in this part of the state. Manchester, the largest town in the northern part of the county, had a population of 1,276 in 1791, or at the time of the battle about 800. This comparison of the population of the two towns will furnish the reader with a clue to the animus of Mr. Locke, and the fairness exhibited in the effort to change history, when in speaking of the men furnished in the battle he says, "*Probably* Manchester furnished more troops than Bennington." He may have had his sensibilities affected by reading Glick's* account of the "promised land," which he, in common with Baum, was anxious to enter, in the slip which he made in speaking of Bennington as a "hamlet of a dozen houses," when he says, "About twenty miles to the eastward of the Hudson lies the obscure village of Bennington, a cluster of poor cottages situated in a wild country between the forks of the Hoosac." But more than the

*Thorough research of records in several large libraries of the country does not reveal that there was an officer *Glick* in the British army; therefore, it is thought with others, the narrative attributed to him is taken from the story by Rev. George Robert Gleig, of England, styled "*Saratoga*," in which the hero, *MacLirk*, gives nearly *verbal* in the same account of his experience in the battle.

furnishing of the greatest number of men of any town in the state during the revolution, and the officers who figured so largely in the invasion of Canada, and the resisting of Burgoyne, Warner, the Allens, the Robinsons, the Saffords, the Scotts, the Fays and Herrick, and others too numerous to mention, the town was the seat of the Council of Safety, supplying a majority of the active members, whose counsel and influence were felt all through the northern department, and the wisdom and sagacity of whom planned most of the operations of the Green Mountain boys up to the time of, and which culminated in, the grand result of the Battle of Bennington. Bancroft, in referring to a letter of Gov. Hutchinson to Gov. Pownal, of July 10th, 1765, says:

"Men of New England, 'of a superior sort,' had obtained of the government of New Hampshire a warrant for land down the western slope of the Green Mountains, on a branch of the Hoosick, twenty miles east of the Hudson river; formed already a community of sixty-seven families in as many houses, with an ordained minister; had elected their own municipal officers; formed three several public schools; set their meeting-house among their primeval forests of beech and maple, and in a word enjoyed a flourishing state which springs from rural industry, intelligence, and unaffected piety. They called their village Bennington."

This was twelve years before Burgoyne attempted to enter this "coveted" hamlet, the first settlement of which had been made but four years before, and which had increased to the number of one hundred and fifty families at the time Mr. Locke speaks of it as "a hamlet of a dozen houses."

Thus far the investigation has been pursued with reference to topics with which the general reader is conversant, and which needed only to be carefully examined and have historical light thrown upon them, to give

them their deserved standing in history. Mr. Locke says, "It has been thought that Warner's regiment held Breyman in check and saved Stark's army from defeat, but its numbers, only one hundred and fifty, were too small to be effective. It now appears that Col. John Williams, of White Creek, a New Yorker at the head of New York troops, saved the day. This is history: Gen. Stark with twenty-two hundred of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont and New York troops defeated Baum's six hundred: and Col. Williams' New York troops, with Warner's one hundred and fifty and a portion of Stark's army that he succeeded in rallying, defeated Breyman's eight hundred." It appears Mr. Locke has been a citizen of Hoosick about twenty years, coming from a distance and possessing none of the bias which largely affected the early inhabitants. It is not strange that he should wish to find something in history, showing that New York was really "heart and hand," in sympathy with those engaged in the Battle of Bennington, and in fact did take part with an organized body of troops. He bases his argument upon material furnished by B. H. Hall, Esq., in the History of Rensselaer County, N.Y., published in 1880, and endeavors to produce historical facts to establish it, although he discards many of the facts and conclusions on other points, stated in the same paper. The quotation reads thus, "It is '*probable*' that the second battle was begun and 'fought in part' by a body of New Yorkers under the command of Col. John Williams, of White Creek, now Salem." It must be as great a wonder to Mr. Hall as anyone else, that such a myth could grow out of his undisguised statement, and no doubt a just and practi-

cal solution of the Col. Williams episode will be as satisfactory to him as to other readers, who desire inferences drawn from trustworthy premises, or reliable history. The position of Mr. Locke being new, and the attention of the earlier writers on the events of the battle never having been called to it with a claim of like importance and with such assurance, it should be examined with care and an endeavor to solve with all reasonableness, the question as to the part, if any, taken by Col. Williams in the Battle of Bennington. There have been, heretofore, no prejudices of Vermont or the town of Bennington, and there should be none now, to interfere with a reasonable claim made by a sister state to any deserved honor in the battle fought in the town of Hoosick. There has been a mutual understanding as to the forces employed at the time, and New York has made no claim heretofore as having taken an active part, and the order to Col. Williams has not been understood by the best informed historians, to be a military one, but one of discovery, or a passport to give him and those with him recognition in passing the lines and beyond, to a place of comparative safety in Massachusetts. This order from the Council of Safety has always had given it, it has been supposed, the importance it merited, till the remark made by Mr. Hall, in 1880, expressed in problematical language, has been taken up and the effort made to make it appear a tremendous reality. "Possibly," "probable," "doubtless," "probably," "beyond a doubt," "it appears to be true," and "undoubtedly," are qualifying terms used in making up the case, by Mr. Locke, and if they are not allowed to signify more than in their common use, his whole theory falls

to the ground. The order to Col. Williams reads thus:

STATE OF VERMONT. }
IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY. }

August 16th, 1777.

To Col. John Williams,—Sir: You will proceed with your party toward the lines, and if the enemy should retreat, you will repair to the road leading from St. Cork to Hoosack, and if you make any discovery, report to this council; at the same time, you are to pay proper attention to the road leading from Hoosack to Pownal.

By Order of Council,

PAUL SPOONER, D. Secretary.

The wording of the paper is such that no one acquainted with military tactics, especially of Revolutionary times, would consider it given to soldiers under arms, hurrying to the battle field. Neither would the council have given a military order, on the day Gen. Stark was to attack the enemy, and it knew his intentions so to do, for they had been in consultation that very morning,—much less a military order which might conflict with Gen. Stark's plans, "if the enemy should retreat." Again, if it had been a military order Col. Williams would have been told to report to Gen. Stark. The council were too well acquainted with the "stuff" Gen. Stark was made of, to tamper with him in the way of giving counter orders, or even orders which might be construed to coincide with his ideas of the military disposition of his forces. The order reads, "if the enemy should retreat, you will repair to the road leading from St. Cork to Hoosack, and if you make any 'discovery' report to this council." Was Col. Williams at the head of a regiment, company or squad of armed men, militia or continental troops, under orders from the council to take part in any fighting, and, "if he made

any discovery" to report to this council? The inference is too absurd to be entertained and was only grasped by Mr. Locke in his desperation, to get hold of something to make it appear, that the state of New York was prominent in the defeat of Col. Breyman. Col. Williams with his party, was not necessarily within a dozen miles of the council room from which the order of procedure or permit emanated, as it may have been forwarded by an express or courier in answer to advice asked relative to his approaching the lines from the north, the direction of his home, which is the most rational conclusion. That it was not a military order is shown by comparison with other customary orders given by the Council of Safety about the same time, which are couched in nearly the same language, as follows:

IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY.

August 28th, 1777.

To David Fassett,—Sir, You will proceed to Mr._____, and make strict examination of his improvements or lands adjoining; and if you find any stock or other effects, which you have reason to suspect belongs to any enemical person within the state you may seize the same, and cause it to be brought to this council, as soon as may be.

By Order of the Council,

IRA ALLEN, Secretary.

Another order dated,

August 29th, 1777.

You are to proceed to the house of Mr._____, of Shaftsbury, and seize all his lands and effects, of whatsoever name or nature, and bring all his writings, together with all his movable effects, to this council, excepting two cows, and such other effects as are wanted for the support of said family, which you are to leave with the woman, taking a proper account of them.

By Order of Council,

IRA ALLEN, Secretary.

Also,

IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY.

August 29th, 1777.

To Mr. Benj. Fassett—Sir. You are hereby directed to proceed to Pownal, and bring from some of the Tories that are gone to the enemy,

or otherwise proved themselves to be enemies to their country, a load of sauce, for the use of the wounded prisoners here; and make returns to this council of what you bring, and from whom. You will leave sufficient for their families.

Per Order,
THOMAS CHITTENDEN, President.

And,

IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY, }
BENNINGTON. }

29th of September, 1777.

To Mr. Wright, and other teams in company—You are to repair from this to Paulet, there to apply to the commanding officer, or Lt. Hyde, to be loaded with plunder, belonging to Col. Brown, and return the same, and deliver it safe, to this council.

By Order of Council,
JOSEPH FAY, Secretary.

One has only to compare the "Williams order" with the above four to see that it was an order or permit for him and his party, to pass the lines, not with a command "to do, to dare and to die," but as a conductor or leader. Col. Williams was something of a military man, though not much of a fighting one as appears from history, but a statesman of considerable experience in his state, in the Provincial Congress of which he was a member, and an eminent physician, surgeon and patriot. On July 2d, 1777, six weeks before the Battle of Bennington, he, with Cols. Robinson and Warner, of Bennington, were addressed in a letter by Gen. St. Clair, to come with their regiments, to his aid at Ticonderoga against Gen. Burgoyne, and of the result it is said "in the war of the revolution," in the History of Rensselaer County, "Cols. Warner and Robinson reached Ticonderoga in time to take part in its evacuation. It is also 'believed' that Col. Williams reached the fort, but whether with or without a command is not positively known." That he

did not reach the battle field, on the 16th of August, 1777, in command of New York troops and take part in it, appears to be as certain as other historical events connected with it.

The history of Washington County, N. Y., was published in 1878, two years before that of Rensselaer, the "Revolutionary Period" being prepared by Chrisfield Johnson, Esq., showing much study and research. He treats largely of the part taken by Charlotte County in the revolutionary struggle, and of the town of Newperth or Salem where Col. Williams resided, but has failed to furnish anything from the large collection of papers left by him, or any reliable data from other sources, to sustain the theory that he was engaged in the Battle of Bennington. He refers to the letter of Gen. St. Clair to Cols. Williams, Warner and Robinson, before mentioned, and also speaks of the battle of Bennington, claiming all he could for the County of Washington, in these words, in speaking of Gen. Stark as "the old Indian fighter, grim John Stark," "his men were principally from New Hampshire, though there was a considerable number from Vermont and Massachusetts, and some also from the towns of Cambridge, White Creek, Jackson, and Salem, in this County." It is often far easier for the historian to make an assertion, than to present trustworthy reasons for making the declaration, as in this instance, investigation discloses that very few from these towns were in the battle, and no facts have been obtained to show that an organized body of soldiers or military company took part in the fight. On April 22d, 1778, Col. Williams wrote to Gov. Clinton, who had informed him that Charlotte County would be exempt from a draft

which was ordered to fill up the Continental army, "on condition of its furnishing the designated number, seventy, for the defense of the frontier, that he had called his battalion together and could obtain only seventeen volunteers. He expected to get as many more, but could not possibly raise seventy. Enough to make three companies had moved down the river and others were preparing to go. Of those who remain, the Colonel said, about one-half are disaffected to the American cause, and most of these he feared would join the enemy." If at this time, several months after the victories of Bennington and Saratoga, and with the surrender of Burgoyne, the feeling in Charlotte County where Col. Williams lived and did so much to sustain what little patriotism, comparatively, could be aroused, what must have been the coldness of the inhabitants six months previous, at the time of the battle, which occurred a little more than a month after the defeat of Warner at Hubbardton? It certainly is worth while to candidly weigh the question, when an endeavor is made to so add to accepted history without proof to justify it, and a reasonable regard to surrounding circumstances taken into consideration. There must have been a poor showing for Gen. Stark, at the time in this locality, and without something to bolster the *conjecture* that "Col. Williams with his New York troops," was present at the Battle of Bennington, the theory should be repudiated.

In the county history, speaking of the town of White Creek, the home of Col. Williams, it says, "Austin Wells, a son of Edmund Wells, the latter a pioneer of Cambridge, went in 1777, to assist an older brother in Cambridge to remove his family to a place of safety,

information having been received that a detachment of Burgoyne's army might be expected through the Cambridge valley. Having taken the family to Williams-town, the brothers hastened back, and reached Bennington in time to join in the closing scenes of the battle." With reference to Cambridge, it says, of Mrs. Sarah Hall, "She was first married to Thomas Comstock, a descendant of the Puritans, who heroically fell in the Battle of Bennington, August 16th, 1777," and in another place it says, "some of the settlers left their homes through fear of the enemy and their Indian allies," and mentions nine, who "are known to have served in the American cause." And of Jackson's part, "The citizens of this town shared, *no doubt*, in the great events occurring around them and in their midst during the War of the Revolution. *Doubtless* several from this town were in service, but no records are found in the town upon this point, and the memory of the older people does not recall them."

It will be necessary to further examine the order to Col. Williams, to learn its full import, in order to judge of the weight to be given it in its relation to the battle of Bennington. It purports to be an order of observation, or a permit as leader or conductor of a "party" to give attention to the roads spoken of, as he journeyed, and see if he could make discovery of anything that might affect the situation "if the enemy should retreat," but otherwise he was not expected to learn or do anything, as he proceeded on his way. Or, he may have been guide or escort to a "party" of refugees, which would likely be composed largely of women and children, fleeing from Salem, then Newperth, or White Creek, and

the country contiguous, to towns in Massachusetts for safety. A meeting was held in "Newperth,* 25th, July, 1777, John Rowan, Chairman," at which, men were appointed from four different parts of the town, "to appraise and value all the crops and buildings in said district," and the inhabitants were counseled "to evacuate their places of residence and move into the interior of the state." But, Lieut. Col. St. Leger was sent just at this time, by Burgoyne, into the interior with an army, so it was unsafe to flee in that direction, and we find many from Salem and vicinity in Massachusetts, having fled on horseback, and among them Mrs. Williams, the wife of Col. Williams, in Williamstown the day after the battle. This is history by tradition as well as written, in relation to her and others who had gone at this time. A receipt of which the following is a copy, is now on file among the papers of Col. Williams, in Salem, N. Y.:

Williamstown, August ye 17, 1777.

Received of Mrs. Williams, the whole of Doct. Williams' amputating instruments.

I say received by me.

SAM'L PORTER.

Furthermore it is shown by a receipt, which was given by one Hopkins, for a horse impressed into the service, to Captain Barnes, who was acting for Col. Williams, dated Newperth, August 20th, 1777, that the Colonel was still absent from home, and being a physician and skilful surgeon was most likely in Williamstown with his wife and rest of the party he had escorted thither, attending to the wounded and suffering, and if need be using the surgical instruments he had brought

* The home of Col. Williams.

with him. It would also appear that his duties were many, as a surgeon, for it was necessary he should have the assistance of his efficient wife in the multitude of his engagements, as in the delivery of the instruments mentioned in the receipt of Sam'l Porter, M. D. It is said of him, "He was a surgeon in the Continental line, acting as such in several of the heaviest battles of the war, and especially in the battle of Monmouth," which took place June 28, 1778. So, here in Williamstown we find Col. Williams, whom Mr. Locke makes the hero of the second action between Gen. Stark and Col. Breyman: Col. Williams who lived an active life in Salem, twenty-nine years after the Battle of Bennington took place, never claiming or intimating he had anything to do in fighting it, and of whom it was never claimed he took any part, until Mr. Locke moved into Hoosick and had lived several years near the battle ground and had "gone over it critically." Then his eye falling upon this hint, before quoted, "It is 'probable' that the second battle was begun and fought in part by a body of New Yorkers under the command of Col. John Williams, of White Creek, now Salem," he invents a theory and with his characteristic energy starts it on its cometie course. Nor did Col. Williams make a report of the attention he gave the roads "leading from St. Cork to Hoosick," and "from Hoosick to Pownal." Nothing of consequence was discovered, as he made his way at the head of his party, over these roads which was the shortest route to Williamstown and towns beyond, though they ran through a section peopled with Tories, and passed the home of Col. Piister, of Hoosick, who was that day in the battle in command of the Tories, at the Tory breastwork, and

whose prestige influenced many of the faint hearted in his neighborhood, to withhold their allegiance to the American cause. The following letter shows the feeling of one of Bennington's noble sons, at the time of which we are considering :

Bennington, Aug. the 20th, 1777.

Honored Father:—After my duty I take this opportunity to write to you, hoping these few lines will find you well, as through the goodness of God they leave me and my family. We met with a great deal of trouble on the 16th instant. Myself and brother John was preserved through a very hot battle. We killed and took according to the best account we can get, about one thousand of the enemy. Our loss was about thirty or forty. We marched right against their breastworks with our small arms, where they fired upon us every half minute, yet they never touched a man. We drove them out of their breastworks and took their field pieces and pursued and killed great numbers of them. We took four or five of our neighbors—two Sniders and two Hornbecks. The bigger part of Dutch Hoosick was in the battle against us. They went to the Reglers a day or two before the fight. Samuel Anderson, was a captain amongst the Reglers, and was in the battle against us. Whilst I was gone my wife and children went off and got down to Williamstown. After I got home I went after them and found them to Landlord Simons.* I have got them home again. My wife was very much tired out. She had four children with her. Belindy was forced to run on foot. We soon expect the enemy will come upon us again and what shall I do with my family I know not.

JOSEPH RUDD.

It should not, perhaps, seem so very strange that so few of those in the state of New York, on the line of Vermont, took part in the defence of Bennington, as their sympathies had been for years with their own state in the "Hampshire Grant controversies," and the influential men, especially of the town of Hoosick, were casting their influence against us. There was an organization among the Tories, and none in the interest of Vermont, or the American Colonies.

We see the magnanimity and generosity of Mr. Locke, for the town of his adoption, in the filling up of the ranks

* Col. Simonds.

of Gen. Stark, by multiplying those who "probably" joined his command, as the number is far greater than is warranted by the facts of history or tradition; and by his zeal for the glory of his town and state, in cherishing everything that has a semblance of show as a thing of reality.

In his account of the battle, he says: "the accounts agree that the Baum action closed at five o'clock in the afternoon," "that soon after intelligence was received that there was a large reinforcement within two miles on the march, and that Warner's regiment came up at the time. So much is beyond question, but of the Breyman engagement most of the best writers have been unsatisfactorily brief, or entirely in error. At this point some of the later writers, copying from Breyman's, Glick's, and Reidsell's accounts, are enabled to throw some light on the second engagement, and these accounts, supplemented by some facts *published, it is believed, for the first time in the History of Rensselaer County*, dispel almost entirely the obscurity that has been over the Breyman defeat." This reference to "Breyman's, Glick's and Reidsell's accounts," is thrown in, it would seem, as a blind or ruse, as is sometimes done by writers to uphold a weak proposition, for in the account of neither is there anything relating to the battle but what has heretofore been presented and properly dwelt upon in history, and the "light" of which, if permitted to cast its radiance "on this second engagement," shows conclusively that Col. Williams was not with New York troops in the second battle, and that the material for sustaining such a "theory" will have to come from other sources. To support and strengthen his cherished the-

ory he quotes "Stone," saying, "Breyman reached the bridge at three o'clock in the afternoon." He comments on it, saying "this time three o'clock is to be noted," as Stark in his official report to the New Hampshire Council says Col. Nichols "commenced the attack precisely at three o'clock in the afternoon" on Baum. Breyman arrived at the bridge (over the White Creek stream) at Sancoik precisely at the opening of the attack on Baum. It would seem that the time, three or five o'clock, for the commencement of the second battle is used in making up the case, just as either one is thought best suited for the argument or point to be gained. Upon this cornerstone, that "Breyman arrived at Sancoik at three o'clock, p. m.," he goes on to build his theory, while all that is reliable in history makes the time later. He adopts this time for his own convenience instead of "half past four in the afternoon," the time stated by Col. Breyman himself in his account of the part he took in the battle, and whose accuracy is established by another reference to the time in the same report, when he says in speaking of his halt near Cambridge, "Toward two o'clock in the afternoon Col. Skeene sent two men to me with the request that I would detach one officer and twenty men to occupy the mill of St. Coyk, as the rebels showed signs of advancing on it." These men were to be sent forward in advance of Breyman's main body, and he did send, as he says, "sixty grenadiers and Chasseurs and twenty Yagers. I followed as quickly as possible with the rest. Some of the ammunition carts again broke down on the road. I reached the mill at half past four." Nothing can well be more certain than that this is the correct time of Breyman's arrival at Sancoik, which is

further corroborated by Gen. Burgoyne's orderly book of date August 26th, when there had been opportunity to fix the time most accurately, when he says, "The next cause (of failure) was the slow movement of Lieut.-Col. Breyman's corps, which from bad weather, bad roads, tired horses, and other impediments stated by Lieut.-Col. Breyman, could not reach 24 miles from eight in the morning of the 15th to four in the afternoon of the 16th." But the theory has been adopted, and now circumstances and events must be made to fit together or bend, so as to clothe the skeleton and make it a thing to be admired as a model of symmetry, beauty and truth. The position taken, is, "scarcely had Breyman advanced fifteen hundred paces from the bridge when he descried a strongly armed force on an eminence towards the west," and "sent ahead some scouts." As he was marching almost directly east, he could not have "descried a strongly armed force on an eminence *towards the west*," and sent ahead, which would have been toward the east, some scouts, who were received "with a volley of musketry," but the account of Breyman who knew of what he affirmed, is the correct one, viz., "that he had not gone far from the bridge, when I noticed through the woods a considerable number of armed men (some of whom wore blouses and some jackets), hastening towards an eminence on my left flank." In both letters of Gen. Stark to the New Hampshire Council and Gen. Gates, one of August 18th, and the other August 22nd, 1777, he says, "I received intelligence that there was a large reinforcement within two miles of us, on their march, which occasioned us to renew our attack." Mr. Locke asks, relying on three o'clock as be-

ing the time, "What 'strongly armed force' was this that at this time, was on 'an eminence' west of Breyman and of the only road leading to Baum's camp?" It is easily answered and without any perversion of history, but in accordance with what actually occurred. There was no force "on an eminence 'west' of Breyman," when he came upon the field, near five o'clock, P. M., but "a considerable number" of Stark's men in shirt sleeves and frocks, were "hastening towards an eminence on Breyman's left flank," sufficient opportunity having been given after the intelligence of his approach was received, for the hurrying together of those who had pursued the flying Hessians, meaning to capture or kill them all. They had gone, as the old soldiers in their manuscript accounts have stated, far beyond the general battle field, and were in a situation to collect together on Breyman's approach. As they could not expect to withstand his army in front, they fired down upon him volleys from the hill whither many had collected, doing good execution in their "blouses and jackets," "and poured a deadly fire into his ranks." Others on Breyman's approach had collected in the old log house near which were posted his cannon, and made as best they could a stand against the best soldiers Burgoyne could send to reinforce Baum, but all in vain. Breyman further says, "The cannon were posted on a road where there was a log house. This we fired upon, as it was occupied by the rebels." With regard to this, from a manuscript statement of Benjamin G. Arnold of Pownal, now eighty-two years old, we copy, "I have often heard my grandfather, Ebenezer Arnold, who said he lived at the time of the Battle of Bennington west of

the Baum encampment, on the north side of the road leading to St. Coik or North Hoosick, in a log house. He often told of a cannon ball going through the roof, and that the firing took off the roof. He said Stark's men were in the house when Breyman came up, and went out and fired on his troops and that they fired down into the British as they came along." We learn from Thompson's Vermont, "They opened an incessant fire from their artillery and small arms, which was for a while, returned by the Americans with much spirit, but, exhausted and overpowered by numbers, we at length began slowly, but in good order, to retreat before the enemy, disputing the ground inch by inch." Breyman continued advancing up the road with cannon in front clearing the way, supported by wings of infantry on either side. At this critical time, as Gen. Stark says, "Col. Warner's regiment came up fresh, who marched on and began the attack afresh, which put a stop to their career. We soon rallied, and in a few minutes the action was very warm and desperate, which lasted until night. We used their cannon against them, which proved of great service to us. At sunset we obliged them to retreat a second time, we pursued them till dark, when I was obliged to halt for fear of killing our men."

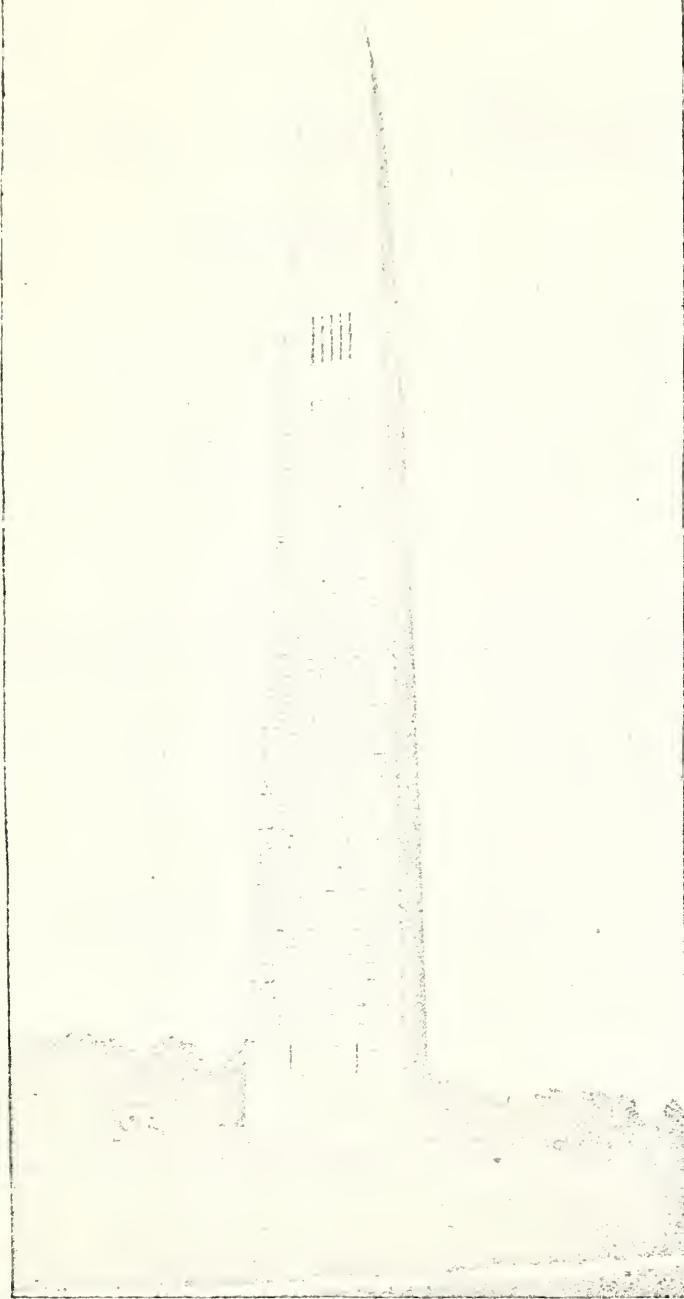
This language of Gen. Stark, when he speaks of obliging them to retreat at sunset, the second time, and then pursuing them till dark does not tally well with the theory that Breyman went little or "no farther than Sancosik." The ground from the hill beyond the present Walloomsac station and east for at least a half mile was fought over and over again, and the ending of the fight was some distance east of North Hoosick accord-

ing to Breyman's report, which agrees with that of Gen. Stark, when he says, "I retreated on the approach of darkness, destroyed the bridge, had as many of the wounded as possible brought thither that they might not be captured, and after a lapse of half an hour, in company with Col. Skeene, pursued my march and reached Cambridge towards twelve o'clock at night." It must be that every soldier of the "party" under Col. Williams that fought so bravely was killed, or it would have been noted in Salem, and the roll of honor of those who died on "that eminence towards the west" would have been recorded or been handed down by tradition, but there is not an iota of evidence to substantiate such a fiction. And further, Col. Williams, if anything of the kind did take place, not only failed to report it to the council, but so far forgot the valor of his noble men as ever to mention the matter in a public or private way, or even claim that he himself was in the battle. He was a man of excellent ability, "his legislative career lasted nearly twenty years," and he filled, with high credit, offices of judicial trust. He lived nearly thirty years after the battle not twenty miles from the battlefield, dying in 1806, and yet there is nothing among his papers, or anything authentically known, that he was aware of the important part ascribed to him and his "party" in the theory presented by Mr. Locke. Had Col. Williams, with an armed company, been in the battle, and done the execution here claimed for them, they would no more have escaped the notice of Gen. Stark or those who early wrote of the engagement than did the reinforcement of Col. Warner's troops, without which the day would have been lost, or even that of Blucher at the

battle of Waterloo, and the service would have received all the praise and glory which a grateful people could bestow. Is it reasonable to expect that any number or manipulation of conjectures can make a mere theory a real transaction, or should they give an imaginary company of New York troops immortal glory?

The endeavor has been to make this review with all due consideration to the feelings of those most nearly interested, and for the sake of history and its vindication, and it is now submitted to the public with a desire that it may receive, only, that regard which its merit demands.

In conclusion, it may be said the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Vermont, have heretofore amicably understood their relative positions and importance in the glorious defeat of the enemy on the 16th of August, 1777, and in accordance with such an understanding have co-operated at all times, but more especially of late have their longings and aspirations been realized in the construction of the grand and imposing battle monument, standing upon the territory coveted by Burgoyne, towards which each state munificently contributed, and the erection of which was so nobly and generously endorsed by this great nation in the gift of over fifty thousand dollars towards its completion.



THE BENNINGTON BATTLE MONUMENT.

This monument is located near the site of the Continental store house, at Bennington Centre, Vt., two hundred and eighty-five feet above the valley below. It was the objective point of the detachment sent by Gen. Burgoyne for provisions, cattle, carriages, etc., which resulted in the "Battle of Bennington." It is thirty-seven feet square at the base, is built of blue gray manganese lime stone (Dolomite) and rock faced. The height of the stone work is 391 feet 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is surmounted by a bronze-rodded head and gilt star, measuring four feet six inches, making the entire altitude 396 feet 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The grand look out floor is gained by rising 417 steps of easy ascent, the stairway being of wrought and cast iron. It was designed by J. Ph. Rinn of Boston. The corner stone was laid August 10, 1887. The cap stone was placed November 25, 1891. The monument was dedicated August 19, 1891.

Vermont as a Leader in Educational Progress.

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE

Vermont Historical Society

BY

The Rev. A. D. BARBER.

Delivered in the Representatives' Hall, Montpelier,

NOVEMBER 5, 1896.

Mr. President and members of the Vermont Historical Society, and Ladies and Gentlemen:

VERMONT'S UNIQUE ORIGIN AND ITS INFLUENCE.

Vermont sprang from the defensible and sacred right of self-preservation. She was free born and never subject or under the dominion of any other state or government. The difficulties she encountered from Great Britain, the Continental Congress and the Congress of the United States on the one hand, and from New Hampshire and New York on the other, made her self-reliant, self-governed and independent. This reliance and success in it were of themselves instructive and educative. "The disputes in which New York, New Hampshire and Vermont were so long engaged respecting the jurisdiction of the latter State," says the Hon. Hiland Hall in his History of Eastern Vermont, "exerted an influence at the time which told on the progress and development of every town, village and hamlet in Vermont." *Preface, p. V.* Led in these disputes by her intelligent and able men, all seemed to realize that intelligence only could build up the State, and that if Vermont was to hold a high place among the powers of the world, education must be a chief reliance. Accordingly in framing and adopting the constitution of the State at Windsor July 2-8, 1777, they adopted our present educational system. The 40th section of this document reads as follows: "A school or schools shall be established in each town for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters paid by each town making proper use of school lands in each town, thereby to enable them to instruct youth at low prices. One Gram-

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mar School in each county and one University in the State ought to be established by direction of the General Assembly."

VERMONT'S CONSTITUTION PROVIDES FOR ALL CLASSES
OF SCHOOLS—AN ADVANCE.

The provision here made and placed in the constitution or fundamental law of the State is a public declaration on two points. 1st, That the education of the people is a public or State trust. 2nd, That the higher education, academic, collegiate and university, is as much a public trust as the primary or common school. And this judgment of these citizen statesmen is also that of the Fathers of the Republic, Washington, Jefferson, the Adamses, Madison, Monroe, Pinckney, Randolph, Wilson, and many others. It is, too, the manifest and growing conviction of to-day. Hence the efforts to multiply and perfect schools and colleges, enlarge their courses of teaching and study and bring larger numbers of both sexes into them. Hence the movement to establish the University of Washington at the nation's Capital to be the norm and culmination of them all.

But to come back to Vermont and note that the provision placed in her fundamental law was really an advance. Compare for this purpose with the constitution of Vermont the constitutions that the other States adopted about this time. The Continental Congress, May 15, 1776, passed a resolution recommending "the representative assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies to adopt such governments as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and of

America in general." Accordingly, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, adopted new constitutions in 1776 and New York and Georgia in 1777. So at the time of the first Constitutional Convention of Vermont, July 2-8, 1777, ten of the Colonial States had adopted new constitutions. Only three of them, however, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Georgia, had included in their constitutions any provision for education. Vermont, however, had framed into her fundamental law provision for the education of all,—an education graded, progressive and complete; or primary, academic and university. And this, too, at a time when boys of sixteen were compelled to bear arms, and when the question whether there would ever be any State of Vermont was still an open one, "having little ground of assurance," as one of her sons, the Hon. R. D. Benedict, has well said, "except the invincible determination of her people." Moreover, when the veterans of the English army were thundering at her gates, and the alarms of war rendered continuous attention to the arts of peace almost impossible—at such a time this fundamental principle and ground of all progress was formulated and wrought into the constitution of the State of Vermont. Such an act by the representatives of the people is a striking example of the foresight, calmness and balance of these self-instructed, practical statesmen. Fully convinced and possessed of the necessity of multiplying the advantages of instruction and making of them the best possible for all, they adopted the provision without a dissenting voice.

THE STATE'S INTENTION IN RESPECT TO THE UNIVERSITY.

That the State intended to do at once what she declared ought to be done to establish the Grammar Schools and the University as well as the Common Schools, is evident from the fact that the General Assembly of 1778 made provision for this purpose, and reserved one right of land for the Grammar School and another for the University in each grant of township already made, or to be made. On this point the early historian of Vermont, in 1794, says, "From the first assumption of the powers of government, the Assembly had in contemplation the establishment of a University in the State, and with this in view reserved one right of land in all the townships which they had granted for the use of such a Seminary." *Williams' History of Vermont*, p. 341. Zadock Thompson in his History of Vermont agrees with Williams, and gives the amount of land so reserved for the University as about 29,000 acres scattered through about 120 towns and gores lying chiefly in the northern part of the State. *Thompson's Civil History of Vermont*, p. 144.

REASONS FOR DELAY IN ORGANIZING THE UNIVERSITY.

That the State failed to realize her expectations in organizing the University for fourteen years, or till 1791, is well known. The reasons of this failure, however, are not found in any change of purpose on the part of the General Assembly or on the part of the people of Vermont; for efforts to establish the University continued to be made throughout this period, both by the Assembly and the people. The reasons of the delay are found in

hindrances beyond the control of both people and Assembly, hindrances which my limits do not allow me to present at length, but mainly from the State of New Hampshire and the trustees and president of Dartmouth College. Their plans and efforts led Vermont to turn aside for a short time from her purpose of a State University and to cherish the hope that Dartmouth College, on the very borders of Vermont, and for a time within its boundaries, would supply the place of the State University. Under this delusive hope the General Assembly of Vermont in 1785 granted a whole township of land in aid of the funds of Dartmouth, making, as Webster says, "The State of Vermont a principal donor to Dartmouth College." *Daniel Webster's Works, Vol. V.*, p. 483. The volume on Federal and State Aid to the Higher Education, prepared by the Educational Bureau at Washington, says also, "One of the most remarkable grants on record is that made by the Legislature of Vermont in 1785." p. 117.

Neither poetry nor fiction has feigned anything more distinct and characteristic of their heroes than this provision for education now recited. Here was a people placed amid political and martial dangers most threatening—a people in a region of forests and mountains, compelled to gain their support from a soil as yet unbroken and comparatively hard and sterile, unprotected and unassisted, but intelligent, politic and fearless. Like the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock, they laid the foundations of society and government in institutions containing in substance all that the ages had done for human welfare, and determined that cultivated mind should subdue uncultivated nature, and make her the

minister of spiritual life in the family, in the church and in the State. From such an advanced position and from such a basis for further progress, we may well expect Vermont will hold on her way. But let us mark more definitely the steps she takes in her triumphal march.

PUBLIC AND FREE SCHOOLS FOR ALL CLASSES.

Vermont, first in this age, established and supported public and free schools for all classes, not only of the common order, but equally secondary or those of the higher order. Schools are primarily not for their teachers but for learners and scholars. Numbers and publicity are implied in the very name. Private teaching, or the instruction of the few that feel the need of instruction and can pay the price of the private teacher or tutor, can do something to help progress, but can never meet the public need. Often the private school has filled with pride both teacher and pupil and broken the bond of sympathy between the few instructed and the masses uninstructed by their side. Thus it has led to hatred of learning rather than love of it. There must be public schools, and these not for one class or sex but for both sexes and all classes. The State must here do as did the engineers in Chicago when the city was to be lifted up out of the swamp and mud, drainage and dry streets made possible, boulevards, pleasant streets and fine drives constructed. They put their levers and screws not under single buildings, but under whole blocks and squares and raised up all together.

EXCLUSIVENESS OF THE EARLY SCHOOLS OF THIS AGE.

Until about the opening of this century, and indeed for the most part till two decades of it had sped away,

schools were a kind of caste schools and for one sex, males only. This caste idea and practical exclusion of one whole class, females, prevailed especially in the high schools, academies and colleges. These were for boys and young men and not for girls and young women. Who can cite a single case where these higher institutions were open and free to young women as well as young men? The primary or common schools were quite as exclusive. In some towns of New England they were made so by resolutions and votes in town meeting, and in nearly all by custom. It was not thought necessary for girls to go to school, and they did not go. There is ample testimony on this point in municipal records and in the recorded remembrances of elderly people. "However it may have been at first," says Mrs. Stowe, in the Semi-Centennial History of Mount Holyoke Seminary, "during most of the eighteenth century, town histories show that they—girls—did not ordinarily attend the public schools. There seems to have been no controversy on the subject. Their attendance was not thought necessary. At home or in private schools kept by dames they were taught to read and sew. It was deemed as important for them to read the Bible as it was for boys. The reading book in school and out of it was the New England Primer. It contained the Shorter Catechism, which all children were required to commit to memory from beginning to end. Further learning than this girls were not supposed to need. * * Boston did not permit them to attend the public schools till 1790, and then only during the summer months, when there were not boys enough to

fill them. This lasted till 1822, when Boston² became a city. An aged resident of Hatfield, Mass., used to tell of going to the school house when she was a girl and sitting on the doorstep to hear the boys recite their lessons. No girl could cross the threshold as a scholar. The girls of Northampton were not admitted to the public schools till 1792. In the Centennial Hampshire Gazette it was stated that in 1782, the question was before the town, and it was voted not to be at any expense for schooling girls." *History of Mount Holyoke Seminary*, p. 3.

In this state of public opinion the daughters of the most distinguished families failed of being schooled not less than others. Of this Mrs. Abigail Smith Adams, wife of John Adams, the second President of the United States, is an example. In a letter of 1817, the year before her death, Mrs. Adams, writing of her deficiencies, says, "My early education did not partake of the abundant opportunities which the present day offers, and which even the common schools now afford. *I never was sent* to any school. Female education in the best families went no further than writing and arithmetic, in some rare instances music and dancing." In another letter she says, "It was fashionable to ridicule female learning." *Memoir of Mrs. Adams by her Grandson Charles Francis Adams*, p. 11. Mr. Adams himself says, "The cultivation of the female mind was regarded with indifference." *Id.*, p. 10. The domestic hearth was their school and the fireside their lecture room. Here their minds were stimulated to inquire after the best things and their hearts to embrace them, as the foundations upon which to build character.

Outside of New England as well as in it the same sentiment in respect to the cultivation of the female mind prevailed. It ruled in Virginia, the Virginia that gave tone to society in the Southern States. Of this Mrs. Dolly Madison, the wife of President Madison, testifies. Sprung from one of the best families of this aristocratic State, her schooling was very limited. "The cultivation of the female mind," says her biographer, "was regarded with indifference. It was also the fashion to ridicule learned women." *Memoirs and Life of Dolly Madison*, p. 6. Another illustration, if needed, is furnished in the Dana family, than which there is scarcely one in New England history more distinguished. The wife of Richard Dana, of Cambridge, and the mother of the illustrious succession could not even write her own name. "An old parchment deed exists," says Joseph Dana Miller in Munsey's Magazine for November, 1896, article, "Prominent American Families," "in which the name Richard has almost disappeared, but 'Anna Dana, her mark,' is to be plainly deciphered." So the mother of all the Danas could not even write her own name, "a thing, however," he adds, "not uncommon at that period."

THE FIRST FEMALE ACADEMY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF GIRLS.

Vermont had no such tradition to slough off. She was free and unhindered by any prejudice or practice to frame her social and civil life according to the rules of reason. Accordingly girls as well as boys attended her schools from the first. And she soon began to plan and execute plans for the higher education of girls as truly

as for boys. Of the high schools, academies and colleges organized for this purpose, we have specific information in respect to the time and place of their organization, the aim of their founders and the attendance of the pupils upon them. Middlebury here led the way. Her female academy was based upon the idea and founded with the intention of providing a public institution of the higher order for the instruction and training of young ladies. Its genesis is sketched both by Dr. Thomas A. Merrill, pastor of the Congregational Church of Middlebury, in his semi-centennial sermon of September, 1840, and by Judge Swift in his history of Middlebury. "The early inhabitants of this town," says Dr. Merrill, "in their zeal to render this an eligible place for acquiring an education, were careful to make provision for a female seminary of a high rank. Accordingly, in 1800 they established a seminary under the superintendence of Miss Ida Strong. Her school was so numerously attended from distant places that it was deemed necessary to erect a separate building for her accommodation. A subscription was opened in January, 1803. Before the expiration of the year the building was completed and the school removed to it," *Sermon p. 21.* Judge Swift gives a more specific account of Middlebury's educational institutions and the connection of the Female Seminary with the Addison County Grammar school here located and Middlebury College,—all projected near the close of the last century. The Grammar School was chartered in 1797 and the College November 1st, 1800. "About the time the Grammar School and College were established," says Judge Swift, "and before the incorporation of the latter, the citizens, in order to complete their

plans of providing institutions of a higher order for all classes, adopted measures to establish a female seminary." Judge Swift goes on to detail the interest the citizens of Middlebury generally showed in this enterprise and the measures they executed to sustain the Female Academy. He endorses the statement of Mrs. Emma Willard, who says, "In the records of female education, it is worthy of notice that this academy was one of the very first in this country built for that special object." *Swift's History of Middlebury*, p. 391.

The first preceptor of the Academy, Miss Strong, dying in 1886, in her place came, in 1807, Miss Emma Hart. She took full charge of the instruction and continued with increasing favor for about two years and till 1809, when, marrying Dr. John Willard, of Middlebury, she suspended teaching until 1814, and then opened a boarding school for young ladies in her own house. This boarding school soon grew to large dimensions. In its second year it numbered more than seventy pupils, forty of whom were members of Mrs. Willard's family. While conducting this laborious boarding school, and in its second year, 1816, Mrs. Willard devised and wrote out her "Plan for the Improvement of Female Education." This plan grasped with a masterly hand the idea, and gave shape to the intention, which the citizens of Middlebury cherished in 1800, in organizing their Female Academy, viz., to provide "institutions of a higher order for all classes." Mrs. Willard's plan provides the same class of institutions for young ladies that young men have had in the college for many centuries, viz., public, chartered and endowed schools of the higher or collegiate rank. The plan is specifically

and elaborately wrought out and made to embrace everything necessary for the perfect woman. The scope and complement of the plan forbids any one to say that the institution framed and conducted at Middlebury, according to the plan, but finally set up and perfected at Troy, N. Y., was developed as time went on, and became in the end more than Mrs. Willard at first contemplated.

MODEL OF MRS. WILLARD'S PLAN AND ITS RESULTS.

Mrs. Willard's plan takes the college as its model. This she declares in a letter of February, 1816, written at Middlebury and sent to Governor Clinton, of New York, when she forwarded to him her plan to be laid before the New York Legislature; also later, in 1833, in a letter to her brother-in-law, Mr. Phelps, and again to a friend in 1841. In these letters she says, "I proposed the colleges for males as far as might be for female seminaries."

The unqualified approval of Mrs. Willard's plan by Governor Clinton and the encouragement of the Legislature of New York when it was laid before them, together with the offers of aid by the citizens of Waterford, N. Y., led Mrs. Willard in 1819 to transfer her school from Middlebury to Waterford. Here it was chartered by the New York Legislature, March 19, 1819. A further transfer of the institution now chartered was made in the spring of 1821 to Troy, where by the aid of the public spirited citizens and the corporation of Troy, it was permanently located, to be known henceforth as the Troy Female Seminary.

The rapid progress of this new, public and chartered institution in the young and prosperous city of Troy,

at that time the most enterprising community of its size outside of New England, amply justified Mrs. Willard in removing both from Middlebury and Waterford. The Seminary became at once celebrated, and young ladies from the first families of the country were sent to Troy to enjoy the great advantages there afforded. The citizens provided a large and commodious building in the center of the city, surrounded with churches and public buildings, and fronting on a beautiful square. A large corps of able teachers was employed, most of whom had been educated and trained to the profession of teaching by Mrs. Willard. Accomplished professors taught the modern languages, music and painting. The studies were greatly extended, especially in mathematics, history, natural philosophy and physics. In no female school in the country was education so complete and so thoroughly grounded. It was Mrs. Willard's conviction that young women were as capable as young men in college of applying themselves to the higher branches of knowledge. Moreover, she contemplated the education of young women as teachers, and it was one of her aims to fit them for this useful and noble calling, to give dignity to women as teachers in those departments which before her day were presided over by educated men. (*See Life of Emma Willard by John Lord, LL. D., p. 95.*)

Dr. Lord having quoted Mrs. Willard's letters to President Monroe and many other statesmen, jurists, divines and practical leading men,—letters setting forth her Plan for the Improvement of Female Education and her expectations respecting a new class of schools she was laboring to establish for this purpose, says, "It

would appear that her scheme of a public seminary, under the supervision of public men, was deemed a great novelty fifty-five years ago; so that she may be regarded as the pioneer of this kind of enterprise, carried on successfully since in every part of the country. There were female schools in her day, as in the days of Hannah Moore; there were also convents in Catholic countries like the School of St. Cyr, of which Madam Maintenon was the patron, where young ladies received an excellent education,—in one sense public schools, but with her, Mrs. Willard, originated the idea of female seminaries under the patronage and supervision of legislative bodies." *Id. p. 47.* Of her plan, which Dr. Lord gives entire, he says, "We should do injustice to Mrs. Willard to give a mere extract or synopsis even of her Plan, on which was based her whole system of education, and which was the foundation of the Female Colleges of this country. Whatever name her school may go by, yet in all essential respects it was a College. The Plan contemplates large public buildings, a library, a laboratory, a philosophical apparatus, a large staff of teachers, a body of trustees, and aid from the legislature of the State. It was too great an enterprise to be effectually carried by any individual, at least in those times. It was a public institution and Mrs. Willard was merely the president of it, the founder, the proprietor." *Id. p. 57.* But the Troy Seminary, as Mrs. Willard always maintained, began in Middlebury. Only an ordinary vacation came between the close at Middlebury and the opening at Waterford, and Mrs. Willard took all of her teachers and most of her pupils from the former to the latter place, so that the school was the same and continuous.

I have thus called attention to the beginning of this movement to provide adequate and equal instruction for one-half of our race and that too, the half which had hitherto been shut out from it; and I have traced, at considerable length, the progress of the movement, not to give a history of it, but to show that Vermont led the way in it. And this is her glory. The movement initiated at Middlebury at the close of the last century and organized at the beginning of this, has even now become one of those ocean currents that cannot be stayed or turned back. It has generated and justified anew the idea of womanhood and revolutionized the practice of the civilized world in respect to the sphere, proper training and education of woman. Already it has originated and endowed ample foundations and gathered faculties of able scholars for their exclusive use and opened to them Universities hoary with age and honors on terms equal to those that men have enjoyed in them for more than a thousand years. Female education has received in America and especially in the United States an extension which it has not attained in any other country. The best English authorities concede this. According to late statistics, out of the 451 colleges and universities in the United States only 41 are closed to women. The rest are co-educational. The time does not seem to be far distant when there will be more female graduates from our colleges than male. Not that women are to take the place of men, only that they are to be taught and trained for their sphere in life as men are.

THE NECESSITY FOR PROPERLY QUALIFIED TEACHERS.

But the Place of Vermont in the Educational Progress of this Age is not yet fully set forth. After schools are provided sufficient in number for each class, what is the next step or essential to progress? Properly qualified teachers, without doubt, apt instructors and wise disciplinarians. These are as essential as the school itself. Without these the schools, made up of children and youth taken away from their homes, will be nurseries of disorder, mischief and vice. Teachers and scholars make up the school, and are *about* all there is to it. The place, or the house and its furnishings, proper heat and light, books, maps, and apparatus, these indeed are helps. But the apt teacher will do much to supply their deficiency. A Mrs. Willard will, as she did at Middlebury, by organizing orderly marching and brisk bodily exercise, relax the muscles stiffened by cold, and set the whole frame, body and mind, aglow, and get discipline out of a chilly room. She, too, will devise and compile text books when they are wanting. Franklin, if he has no apparatus to investigate that most subtle and powerful agency, electricity, will frame his kite, send it up among the clouds and draw down the fluid where he can handle it and test it. Not artistic and solidly constructed and imposing halls are absolutely essential for successful collegiate instruction. A rude bench with President Hopkins on one end of it and James A. Garfield on the other, realizes the essentials of the college course. But the teacher stands first in this equation. And the apt teacher is not one of the autochthonies. He does not spring up out of the ground or come forth without preparation.

Vermont led the way in plans and practice to provide these qualified and competent teachers such as give dignity and confidence to the school, and guarantee its success. This she did by organizing the Normal School and other agencies that have sprung from it to instruct, inspire, and perfect the teacher in his noble art and high calling. The Rev. Samuel R. Hall, late of Brownington, won the eminent distinction of being the Father of Normal Schools in America. Mr. Hall began his career as a teacher in the common schools. Here he soon felt his own deficiency, and the need of better instruction for the teachers as a class. Under this conviction, it became clear to him that he could do more for education by teaching and training the teachers than by the instruction of ordinary pupils. Accordingly he devised the Normal School, and organized a three years course of instruction in the art of teaching.

SKETCH OF SAMUEL R. HALL AND HIS WORKS.

Mr. Hall had been appointed a Home Missionary, and invited to the pastorate of a Congregational Church in Concord, Essex County, Vermont. He accepted the invitation on condition that he be allowed to establish and maintain a seminary, with special reference to the training of teachers for the schools. He was ordained at Concord, March 4, 1823, and opened his school the same month in his own house, but soon after removed it to a more convenient hall over one of the stores in the village. More ample accommodations being soon required by the great increase of pupils, the school was again removed to a brick building prepared for it.

The Seminary was incorporated by the Legislature in

the autumn of this year. In 1825 it was re-incorporated as the Essex County Grammar School, in order to receive the rents of the grammar school lands of the county. A special course of study was arranged, and teachers' classes formed in the first year of the seminary. In the second year a regular normal school course was instituted. Besides, lectures on school-keeping were given during the spring and autumn of each year, intended to illustrate improved methods of both teaching and governing schools. A volume of these lectures was prepared for publication in 1828, and published in 1829, being, as is said, "the first attempt of the kind on the Western Continent, if not in the world." This volume was received with great favor, and several editions of it published and sold. An edition of 10,000 copies was purchased by the State of New York, and a copy placed in each school district of the State.

Mr. Hall's trained teachers were so eagerly sought by the schools of Vermont, Canada, and other parts adjacent, that he found it difficult to keep them through the three years' course. He patiently persevered, however, till 1828-9. Finding the climate of Northern Vermont too severe for his constitution, he now accepted an invitation to remove to Andover, Massachusetts, and take charge of the Normal Department in Phillips Academy, there located. Here he taught and labored with zeal and discretion, enlisting Morse, Emerson, Russell and others, to work with him for the wider and more permanent establishment of normal schools. At last the subject was fairly brought before the Legislature of Massachusetts, and it was moved in 1838 to establish and endow at Bridgewater the first State Normal School in

the United States. If, however, to Massachusetts belongs the honor of endowing the first normal school of our country, to Samuel R. Hall, of Concord, Vt., belongs the primary honor of leading the way in this noble enterprise. Proclaiming this fact, and alluding to the place of its beginning, Concord, Vt., the Hon. Henry Barnard, LL.D., than whom none has done more to make our educational history, says: "Here in an obscure corner of New England, under the hand of one who was to a remarkable degree self-taught, self-prompted, and alone in planning it, was an institution with all the essentials of a normal school, eighteen years before the Massachusetts movement had reached that point of development which secured the establishment of the normal school at Lexington." Another, referring to the same fact, well adds: "The little germ planted here in the wilderness has sent forth its fibres, leaves, and fruits to every part of the land. Methods of teaching first adopted in this town are now common in every State, and in almost every school." *Vermont Historical Magazine*, Vol. I., p. 976.

Dr. Hall at Andover did not spend his time and strength merely in conducting the normal department of the Phillips Academy and in labors to lead the State of Massachusetts to establish a system of normal schools. He appealed also to a wider public than Massachusetts, and led the way in organizing a national association, the American Institute of Instruction, now in its sixty-sixth year, and not only the oldest but the largest and most enthusiastic of all our public organizations for school improvement. There have followed the normal school, the institute of instruction, state, county, and

town institutes, chairs of pedagogy in our colleges and universities, and last of all, and best of all, The Teachers' College on one of the foundations of the Columbian University in the city of New York. All of these institutions have one and the same aim and end,—the perfection of the teacher's art, and they influence hardly less the professors in the higher departments of university instruction than the teachers in academies and common schools. They have led to the analysis of the human constitution, body and soul, and to the adaptation of instruction and training to the child and pupil at every stage of growth and receptivity, so that there is now no art more carefully studied by large numbers, or more successfully practiced than this of teaching, the chief of all arts. And the end is not yet.

Mrs. Emma Willard, who was in the educational field both at Middlebury and at Troy before Dr. Hall, had from the first made the instruction and fitting of teachers for their work one of her leading objects. How far Dr. Hall was stimulated in his undertaking at Concord in 1823 by anything Mrs. Willard had done, we know not. Or whether both Mrs. Willard and Dr. Hall were influenced by the normal schools that had been established in Germany and other European States in the preceding century, and in the first part of the present century, we can only conjecture. It is enough for us here to give the facts and the dates in the case.

THE FIRST EDUCATION OR BENEFICIARY SOCIETIES IN THIS COUNTRY.

But the cycle of provision for the progress of education, according to the Vermont idea, is not yet complete. Besides schools of the highest order, academies

and colleges for both sexes, and teachers apt in their calling to direct them, there is need of an organization to seek out young men and women, set them in the way of learning, encourage and aid them in the pursuit of the highest ends, teaching and preaching, need in short of education or beneficiary societies. These societies are not indeed of modern origin, much less "a Boston notion," as Dr. Holland, late of Scribner's Monthly, contemptuously called them. They have existed from the beginning of our era and before, organized and directed by prophets and apostolic men. Every branch of the Christian Church has used them, and our oldest universities no less. Oxford and Cambridge point to them with justifiable pride. They flourished in these universities in the age of the Westminster Assembly, and counted in their membership some of the brightest minds and best scholars of the time. But the education society did not cross the sea with the Puritans and Pilgrims, nor were such societies at once formed here. The first in this country was organized in the State of Vermont, and in the town of Pawlet, March 6, 1804, under the name of The Evangelical Society. It was organized in response to an appeal to the clergy by James Davis. Rev. William Jackson was chosen president, Rev. Nathaniel Hall, vice president; Rev. John Griswold, secretary; and Ezekiel Hermon, Esq., treasurer. The objects of the society are distinctly stated, "to aid pious and ingenious young men in indigent circumstances to obtain an education for the work of the gospel ministry." The next education society that we find traced was organized at Middlebury in August, 1813, as The Middlebury College Charitable Society. The objects, offic-

ers, moneys received and disbursed, and the number of young men assisted in their course of study, are given. *See American Quarterly Register, February, 1837, Art. Hist. Sketch of Middlebury College, for sketch of these societies.* In 1814 another of these education societies was organized at Dorset, Vt., under the presidency of Rev. Dr. Jackson, pastor of the Congregational Church there. This is the society that is often spoken of as the first in this country. Beginning thus in Vermont, the education society under the name of The American Education Society, grew in due time to national dimensions. These societies have aided from a third to one half of the ministers in the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches, and hardly less in other branches of the church. They count among their beneficiaries many of our ablest and most successful teachers, preachers and pastors, a fact which could easily be shown did our limits permit. *See a historical sketch of beneficiary education by the author, in the Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review of April, 1876, in which the history of these societies is traced from its early beginning in the Israelitish church down to the present time.* Vermont then has taken not an inferior but a superior position both in organizing these societies and in furnishing men and means for their support.

THE INTRODUCTION OF A BETTER SYSTEM AND METHODS OF TEACHING, OR THE KINDERGARTEN.

But the limit of progress is not reached by all these facilities,—such as the increase of schools and institutions of the highest order, academies and colleges for

both sexes, and qualified teachers for them all, with agencies to bring forward scholars as well as teachers. There is still needed the better system and method of instruction to be used in them all to bring out the advantages which these schools, academies and colleges offer.

“A good method of recommending knowledge to the young and thus of teaching,” says a high authority on this subject, Stanley Hall, lately Professor of Pedagogics in Harvard University, “is one of the most effective bulwarks against a slow relapse to barbarism, because by it knowledge and all its benign influences slowly filter more effectively down from the higher to the lower intelligences.” *North Amer. Rev., February, 1885.* *Art. New Departure in Education.*

These better methods of teaching and learning are furnished by the Kindergarten System of instruction and training. This system begins with the child at the very beginning of its sensitive life, analyzes its constitution, body and mind, ascertains and marks its faculties, how they are awakened, how they can be helped and hastened, or stimulated, strengthened and perfected, and adapts instruction and effort to the various stages of their development. The senses of the infant are the organs through which the mind is reached and awakened. The Kindergarten lays hold of the senses of sight, hearing and touch, directs these in their natural use, and through them brings out the idea of form and sound, of color, time, space, distance and succession, and gradually of the self that recognizes them all, and so of something outside of self. In this way it reaches the reasoning faculties, the conscious understanding and judgment, the moral sense and the whole man.

The great advance in system and methods of instruction in this century has been in the adoption and use of the Kindergarten System. So clearly is this the case, that the teachers' college lately organized in New York City, maintains a series of schools, beginning with the kindergarten and running by regular gradation to the high school. *See Teachers' College Bulletin No. 5, January, 1895; address by President Low, p. 7.* Also address by President Eliot, who says, "I have observed of recent years that education has made most progress at two extremes, namely, in the Kindergarten at one extreme and in the University at the other."

THE ORIGIN OF THE KINDERGARTEN.

The Kindergarten System is not the product of Vermont or any American state. It is of European and German origin. Its adoption, however, even by the states of Europe is, as we understand it, the work of one of Vermont's noble sons, George P. Marsh, late of Burlington. This eminent scholar and diplomatist, while Minister of the United States to the government of Italy, and resident at Turin, convinced of the excellence of this admirable system, then comparatively but little known, called the attention of the Italian Minister of Instruction to it, and persuaded him to make it a part of the Italian system of education. Italy, thus persuaded, was the first of the European states to adopt the system, though it had been used by individual teachers in Europe, and, we believe, by some cities, before its adoption by the Italian government. From Italy it spread to other European states and came to the United States, where it is now so widely practiced. Moreover,

Vermont as a State has moved in the matter and made the Kindergarten a part of her system of State instruction. This she did in the legislature of 1892. Vermont is the second of the States of our Union to adopt the system, Connecticut alone having done so before her.

ADVANCE IN COLLEGIATE AND UNIVERSITY INSTRUCTION, AND RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT FOR THIS PURPOSE.

If we continue to trace the educational progress of this age and take up collegiate and university instruction, Vermont is still in the advance. The University chartered in 1791, organized and opened in 1800, arranged and pursued its course of study mainly as did the older colleges in New England. This it did until 1826, when President Marsh took charge of the institution. As soon after this as the Faculty could be organized, he introduced such improvements in the system of instruction and discipline as, in his judgment, were called for by the wants of the age and of man. Those that best know Dr. Marsh do not doubt his ability and fitness to introduce improvements into the college courses of his time. He was, to beginwith, a profound scholar in the learning of both the present and the past. He was also a man of close inspection and clear insight into the great problems of the intellectual and spiritual life of humanity—problems that have been universally acknowledged as real, but stated and solved for the most part of late in terms doubtful, confused and contradictory. These problems Dr. Marsh grasped with a masterly hand, and threw upon them a clearer light. From the observation and reflection upon his own con-

stitution, and the constitution and conduct of the race as exhibited in history, he was clearly convinced that there is in man's nature the unity and consistency that reason instinctively demands, and that the great problem of education is to frame such a course of instruction and discipline as will develop easily and naturally this unity, and so bring both the individual and the race to the highest possible perfection. And in re-organizing the University, he sought so to arrange its courses as to help each student to the full and symmetrical development of all his powers. It is conceded that Dr. Marsh did more than anyone else of his time in this country to discredit the sensuous and empirical philosophy that then prevailed, and to introduce the spiritual philosophy in its stead, and so to harmonize the facts of experience with the Holy Scriptures, and with the reason and conscience of man. The venerable Dr. DeWitt, of Princeton Theological Seminary, in his late article on William Greenough Thayer Shedd, says of Dr. Marsh, Shedd's teacher in the University of Vermont: "He was one of the ablest teachers, if not the ablest and most original teacher in the country in this department," the department of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy. Dr. Shedd himself says of Dr. Marsh: "He was one of those elect and superior spirits few and rare in our earthly race who have an instinctive and irresistible tendency to the supernatural."

In preparation for the re-organization of the university, Dr. Marsh had faithfully studied and compared not only the collegiate systems of this country, but those also of the old world, noting how they helped or hindered the development of the intellectual and moral powers of

the human soul. To develop these powers and make the man conscious of himself, and able to use these powers for the ends for which they were given by the Creator, this he saw clearly was the very aim and end of education. With no less clearness did he see that a certain course of instruction and study must be adopted and pursued as best on the whole to realize this end.

In respect to morals and the formation of character, Dr. Marsh did not deem that to be necessarily the best system which secures the most minute and strict observance of college rules, or even of the external requisitions of morality, but that which most effectually unfolds and exercises correct principles of action in the mind of the individual scholar. Rules obeyed and duties done so as to stimulate the growth of that love which is the fulfilling of the law, were of more consequence than the fear of college censures, or any and all other influences. This principle he would follow as the leading one in every department of intellectual and moral culture. The mind, he said, to use the words of Professor Torrey in his *Memoirs* of Dr. Marsh—"The mind whose powers by whatever course of study are thoroughly awakened and exercised in the proper manner, is prepared to act with promptitude in every emergency, and can readily acquire the particular knowledge necessary in the peculiar circumstances in which it may be placed." *Memoirs*, p. 81.

Dr. Marsh wrought, with the true end of collegiate instruction held clearly in view, viz., to help the student make the most of himself, intellectually, morally and spiritually, and with the further conviction that the collegiate curricula of the United States

were characterized by a too mechanical routine, in which each one who took the prescribed number of steps was sure of securing his degree, whether he grew in knowledge and in the power rightly to use his knowledge or not. The improvements introduced Professor Torrey sums up under five heads. 1st, As respects the rules of admission to the college courses. These were changed so as to admit and bring in larger numbers of young men than under the old regime; and this on the ground that the greater the number of educated men, the better for the community, even if all do not and can not come up to the highest standard of learning. 2d, As to the system of discipline. This he sought to make parental in character, and would confine it more nearly to the exercise of moral and social influence on the students. 3d, As to the method of instruction. Uniformly it should aim at the fullest development of the manly powers of the individual, and for this purpose should work in harmony with the native tendencies of the individual mind. 4th, The system of classification should be such as to encourage those who were able and disposed to do more than accomplish the prescribed course. These should be directed and helped by the Faculty to take up and pursue additional studies. 5th, All designations of rank and scholarship should be given on the ground of absolute instead of relative merit. According to this aim and method the courses of study were arranged so as not merely to impart some knowledge of the languages, mathematics, literature and science, but to make these the means of bringing out in their natural order and logical sequence the faculties of the student. In short, the Kindergarten method was here

adopted and followed. And this a decade before Frederic William August Freebel had opened the first kindergarten school at Blankenburg, Germany, or was known outside of the land that gave him birth.

The new system, having been fully considered by the Faculty of the University, was adopted, and published in a pamphlet entitled, "*An Exposition of the System of Instruction and Discipline pursued by the University of Vermont.*" This pamphlet was sent to such persons as it was thought would take interest in it. "Several of the presidents and professors connected with other colleges in New England," says Professor Torrey, "were pleased to express their approbation of the main features in the plan, and thought that there could be little doubt that the experiment would ultimately prove a successful one." *Memoirs*, p. 84. Of this success Professor G. W. Benedict in a second edition of the pamphlet in 1831 says: "Justice to the young gentlemen who have been under our charge obliges us to say that no obstacles have been thrown in our way by them. On the contrary, they entered with alacrity into the spirit of the alteration, have showed a great readiness to deviate from former usages whenever requested, and have gladly availed themselves of the privileges thus offered to them, which they could not enjoy before. The effects have been a very rapid elevation of the tone of scholarship among them, a desire to perfect their knowledge of studies formerly attended to, enlarged views and purposes of study, extending much further than the mere attainment of a degree, and corresponding enlarged acquisitions. We do not mean to represent the improvement in these respects as already all that is desirable, or all that we ex-

pect to see. By no means. When the principles of the system shall have become more fully developed in practice, and especially when *through* those who have felt its influence here, a corresponding influence shall be felt in our primary schools, and in whatever station they may occupy we anticipate much greater results, and a much nearer approach to what an institution of learning should be than has yet been made." *p. 32.*

The Library of the University was also re-arranged and additions were made to it, not merely that the professors and students might have somewhat more to read, but that the library might furnish means to help realize the end which the University sought. For this end lists of subjects and works which should properly present these subjects were carefully made out, and Professor Torrey was sent to Europe to obtain these books. Of this enlarged and re-arranged Library that most competent authority, Professor Bela B. Edwards, of Andover Theological Seminary, says: "The library is smaller than those which are possessed by some other colleges, but we know of none better in proportion to its size." *American Quarterly Register of 1838.* The catalogue is arranged by subjects. Vermont's most distinguished scholar, George P. Marsh, says of it: "The libraries for their size are more complete and better adapted for the collegiate student than any others in the country." *University Quarterly, 1861, p. 199.*

As additional in the way of improvement and progress, Professor Torrey, soon after his return from Germany—he made two visits there—began to give lectures on Art. The object of these lectures was to cultivate in the students both the observation and the love of beauty

until this love should permeate the being, and become directive of character. These lectures were the first ever given on this subject by a professor or instructor in any of the colleges of this country. Since Professor Torrey's death they have been published and used as a text-book in the University and other colleges of our land. They are now referred to as authority by writers on Fine Art, along with the writings of Ruskin, Schlegel and others.

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY AFTER DR. MARSH,
AND EMINENCE OF SOME OF HER GRADUATES.

The successors of Dr. Marsh in the presidency of the university—Drs. John Wheeler, Worthington Smith, Calvin Pease, Joseph Torrey, James Burrell Angell and Mathew H. Buckham—have been men thoroughly in sympathy with Dr. Marsh's philosophical and educational system, and have sought to realize it in their administration of the institution.

To what extent the re-organization of the University influenced and altered the system of instruction and discipline in the other colleges of the United States cannot be shown without more labor and comparison than can now be made. Suffice it to say generally, that the course other colleges are now pursuing is, so far as we know them from their catalogues and other sources, similar in its aims and methods to that which the University first marked out in 1826. Doubtless the influence of the re-organized University has been strongest, as Professor Benedict predicted it would be, through her graduates, men like Jacob Collamer in the United States Senate and superior courts; W. G. T. Shedd in the

theological chair; Henry J. Raymond in journalism; John Gregory Smith and Frederic Billings in great railroad corporations, and many others who have given themselves not only to teaching, journalism, and the management of great business corporations, but to other callings hardly less necessary for the welfare of government and society. All of these confess for themselves and claim for others the superior influence which they received from the training of the University. Dr. Shedd, not only a graduate, but for seven years, from 1845 to 1852, a professor in the institution, surely eminent as a profound and clear thinker, and an instructive writer upon the highest themes of literature, philosophy and religion, in his *Discourse upon the Method and Influence of Theological Studies* before the literary societies of the University, August 5, 1845, addressing directly the young men, says: "The course of your training in this University, so far as human influence can do, leads and urges you to the freest, fairest, and holiest development of your spirits, for it is the plan and work of one of those elect and superior spirits, few and rare in our earthly race, who have an instinctive and irresistible tendency to the supernatural." *Theological Essays*, p. 51-2. Another graduate of a later class, that of 1845, at one time a professor in the University, also, later in another college, but for a third of a century past filling a place that has called him to advise and direct educational institutions more than any other graduate of the University, alluding to the influence of our eminent graduates in a letter lately received, says: "I, myself, have been influenced by the University in what I have done as trustee for educational institutions at home and

abroad." I allude here to the Rev. Dr. George N. Clark, late the Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Dr. Clark was a trustee of the Mount Holyoke Female College; also chief, as we understand, in advising and arranging the course of study in Wellesley Female College. Five colleges, too, were organized under his administration in the foreign field.

One no less eminent and competent than Charles Sumner designated Senator Collamer as "the Green Mountain Socrates," and holds him up before all others as the wisest and best balanced statesman of his time. Senator Sumner says that to Jacob Collamer "the United States are most indebted for that great act which is a landmark in our history—that act of July 13, 1861, which gave to the war for the suppression of the rebellion its first Congressional sanction, and invested the President with new power—this might properly be known by the name of its author as Collamer's Statute." *Obituary Address of Senator Sumner in the United States Senate.*

WHAT VERMONT'S SONS HAVE DONE TO ENLARGE THE COURSES OF STUDY IN OUR COLLEGES.

To round out this paper and fully present the place of Vermont in the educational progress of this age, it would be legitimate to set forth what some of her eminent sons have done to enlarge the courses of study in our colleges and to bring science more directly to bear on practical, every day life; also to show what others are doing to found the National University and to increase the number of theological seminaries and profes-

sional schools. First, we should note here the Congressional Grant of 1862 to provide instruction in agriculture and the mechanic arts in some college in each of the states of our Union. Next to the ordinance of 1787 opening up the great North-west to freedom, if not above it, stands this Congressional Grant of 1862. Of the ordinance of 1787 Daniel Webster declares, "I doubt whether one single law of any law-giver, ancient or modern, has produced effects more distinct, marked and lasting character than the ordinance of 1787." A high authority also says, "The Congressional Grant of 1862 is, however, the most important educational enactment in America." This enactment was the work of Vermont's eminent Senator, Justin S. Morrill. Next in this order should come the bill framed, introduced and advocated by Senator Edmunds, to establish a National University at the nation's capital, and thus realize the idea which Washington so fondly cherished and wisely advocated; which also so many of our patriotic and far-seeing citizens after him, have hoped and labored to see established. In addition should be cited the organization which Governor Slade conducted with so much efficiency, designed to furnish teachers for the West. These institutions were not local or personal, but public, national, patriotic, and in no mean sense, philanthropic. The national organization, under Governor Slade, furnished between six and seven hundred teachers for the West and North-west, and helped in no slight degree to give reliable character to this important section of our country.

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